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HERE AND ON THE WAY

Our article on restrictive covenants in Chicago is the first of two studies on this controversial subject. Next month we shall publish a piece by Attorney Loren Miller on restrictive covenants in California. Dr. Robert C. Weaver, who writes on "Chicago: a City of Covenants" (p. 75), has had an interesting background of government experience as an advisor on Negro affairs in various federal departments (USHA, WMC, OPM, and WPG). Dr. Weaver is a native of Washington, D. C., and did graduate work in economics at Harvard, from which he holds both A.M. and Ph.D. degrees in economics. He now directs the Community Services of the American Council on Race Relations in Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Thelma Thurston Gorham was formerly editor of the *Apache Sentinel*, Fort Huachuca, and a recent assistant editor on *The Crisis*. She now lives in Berkeley, Calif., where she is putting the finishing touches on her book of children's stories.

S. W. Garlington finds it easy to review *Marching Blacks* because he was once city editor of Rev. Powell's *The People's Voice*. Mr. Garlington, a well-known contributor to national magazines, is at present feature writer on the N. Y. *Amsterdam News*.

James Peck is a labor journalist and lives in New York. He has also had several years of experience as a seaman, and has been active in the National Maritime Union and the Newspaper Guild. Since his release from prison last summer, Albon Man has been teaching ethics at the Fieldston Lower School of the New York Ethical Culture Society. Before the war Mr. Man was an administrative analyst of the Social Security Board in Washington.

Both Peck and Man served two years and four months in prison as war objectors. They began serving their term at the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Conn., but after the four-and-a-half-month work strike against jim crow, they were transferred to the U. S. penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa.

When we received "Pittsburgh Panorama" (p. 85) from William Cousins a year ago, he was a student at Fisk.

A former *Crisis* contributor, Dr. Chandrasekhar lives in New York and is chief of the New York bureau of Janmabhoomi, a group of Bombay, India, newspapers.

Articles coming in our April issue: James Rorty tells the encouraging story of the little Negro community of Bakewell and how it lifted itself out of baked and barren chert into a green Canaan. In glimpses of the Virgin Island, J. Antonio Jarvis describes his people and country.

George M. Houser, a white man, graphically describes his experiences with jim crow.

It is rather hazardous for an editor to plan articles too far ahead. However, here are some of the items on our calendar. An article on jim crow in white churches by James Farmer; an article on Haiti and SHADA by Richard Pattee. A piece on Liberia, and short stories by Howard Baer, Will Thomas, Babette Stiefel, Chester Himes, and Bill Wheeler. In adition there will be the usual news from the NAACP branches and the national office.

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College and School News

Principal speaker at the HAMPTON INSTITUTE founder's day exercises in January was President John W. Davis of West Virginia State College. The speaker made a sharp distinction between "Negro education" and "the education of Negroes" and concluded that "Negro education as a system or pattern of training must be ended at once." "The aim of all segregated institutions," continued Mr. Davis, "should be to work themselves out of a job."

Dr. Karla Longree, professor of foods and nutrition at the college, has just published a 47-page booklet on the nutritive values of soybeans and peanuts. The booklet includes tasty recipes for spice cake, gingerbread, apple betty, and many other delicacies among its fifty-one recipes. It is published by the Hampton Institute Press and is designed for home economics teachers and students as well as demonstration agents and extension workers.

Approximately one hundred veterans of World War II were admitted to Hampton for the second semester. About sixty percent of these returning servicemen entering the college for the second semester are former Hampton students who have been re-admitted.

Recently appointed interim director of the veterans' bureau at the college is Douglass Ryan Turner of Chicago and Atlantic City. Mr. Turner was formerly a chief petty officer and supervisor of the yeoman school in the U. S. naval training unit at Hampton. He is a native of Chicago and a graduate of the University of Illinois.

Former director of the bureau, George C. Cooper, left the college February 1 for New York City where he will pursue studies in personnel administration at Teachers College, Columbia university. He will return to his post at Hampton in September.

The urgent need for Negro physical therapists was cited at the college recently by Dr. Frances A. Hellebrandt, acting director of the Baruch Center of Physical Medicine in Richmond, Va. Dr. Hellebrandt also mentioned the million-and-a-half-dollar scholarship fund which the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis has allocated for the education of physical therapy technicians. Any student, irrespective of race, who possesses the proper credentials, is eligible for this type of subsidy, which provides not only tuition and books, but also makes available a

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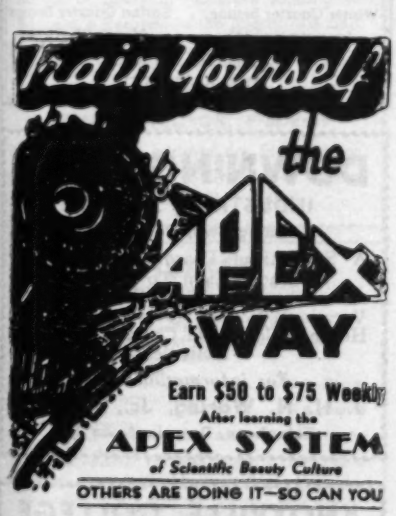

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Recent appointments at BUTLER COLLEGE are the Rev. M. K. Curry, Jr., as president and Thomas E. Roberson, as dean. President Curry is a graduate of Morehouse college. He holds an A.M. from Atlanta university and has studied at Creighton university and the University of Chicago. Dean Roberson is a graduate of Alcorn college and holds a master of arts degree from Fisk university. He recently received an honorable discharge from the armed forces, in which he served for three years.

At BENNETT COLLEGE in January Marshall Shepard, recorder of deeds, Washington, D. C., and pastor of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Tabernacle in Philadelphia, Pa., addressed the students on the problems of modern women.

On February 12 the college choir sang in a nationwide broadcast over the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The program originated in the studios of WBIG in Greensboro, N. C., and was given in tribute to the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln.

Annual Bennett college home-coming was held February 22-24, with Mrs. Juanita P. Morisey as general chairman of the event.

Seventy-ninth founder's day anniversary was celebrated at BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE on January 27. Principal address was delivered by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University. Large numbers of local and out-of-town people were in attendance, including alumnae and friends. Alumnae chapters of the college expressed new allegiance to the institution and pledged help in working toward the $50,000-building campaign.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE Art Centre is offering a $10 prize for the best local entry in painting, water color, charcoal drawing or work in other pictorial art media. The college art exhibit was held February 11-25 with a showing of twenty-one gelatone reproductions of the works of Thomas Benton, Grant Woods, Aaron Douglas, and others.

On January 28 Knoxville college vet-

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erans wired Kenneth D. McKellar, president of the Senate, petitioning him "to use every possible means to the end of making FEPC a permanent committee."

ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE was second-place winner in a bond-selling campaign sponsored by the National Association of Deans and Registrars during the eighth Victory Bond campaign. Guest speaker at the program commemorating the event was William Pickens of the U. S. Treasury Department.

One hundred students were listed on the honor roll for the fall quarter. Highest honors went to Miss Annie Wilkerson, a senior from Bessemer, Alabama.

Forty-sixth founder's day address was delivered by Wiley A. Hall of the class of '14, executive secretary of the Richmond, Va., Urban League.

Among those recently presented at the college are Ferdinand L. Rousseve of Xavier; Bruce Thomas, war correspondent; Nelson Sabin, distinguished baritone; and Mrs. Arnetta G. Wallace. Religious emphasis week was observed at the college January 20-23 with a series of services conducted by Dr. George Kelsey, dean of the School of Religion at Morehouse.

Dr. H. Council Trenholm, president of State and director of educational activities of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, has announced that the Alphas will observe education and citizen week April 8-14. The fraternity is offering scholarship and fellowship assistance to its members in the amount of $1350.

Preacher and lecturer at the winter ministers' institute at FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE was Dr. William Holmes Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist church, Atlanta, Ga. Consultant preacher and lecturer was Dr. Harry V. Richardson, chaplain of Tuskegee Institute.

Dean W. C. Cogdell announces a broadening of the college program for the second semester in order to meet the needs of returning GIs.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces acquisition of the Henry P. Slaughter collection of Negroana. The collection contains approximately 10,000 items consisting of more than 6,500 books and pamphlets, 70 folders of clippings, 157 portraits, 400 letters, 64 prints, 217 pieces of sheet music, 125 famous signatures, and hundreds of copies of newspapers, monographs and maga-

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Mr. Slaughter, who resides in Washington, D. C., gathered his material over a period of forty years. He is a graduate of Livingstone college and Howard and worked for a number of years in the government printing office in Washington.

Eleven cash purchase awards, totalling $1,400 are being offered by the university for the best paintings, sculpture and prints entered in its fifth annual exhibition of the works of Negro artists, to open on the university campus March 31. The highest award, $300, will be for the best portrait or figure painting in oil.

Mrs. Annie Lou McPheeters of Atlanta has been appointed an instructor in the *Public Library* of the Atlanta University School of Library Service.

(Continued on page 91)

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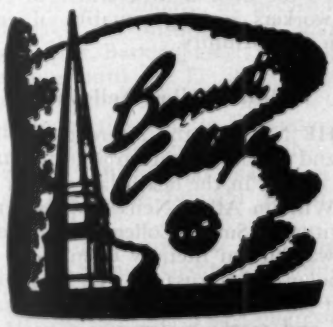

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Editorials

Sham Battle

THREE days before Lincoln's Birthday the Senate of the United States pushed the bill for a Fair Employment Practices Commission off the calendar by refusing to vote for cloture to shut off the filibuster. Then the Republican members hurried to various parts of the country to deliver speeches at Lincoln day dinners, pointing out the glories of the Republican party.

Mr. Hoover spoke in New York and did not mention FEPC or the Negro. Mr. Stassen spoke in Boston and likewise found other items to discuss. Senator Robert A. Taft spoke in Kansas City and passed up FEPC and the Negro. Senator Wallace H. White of Maine, Republican leader in the Senate, is not recorded as having spoken anywhere, but he did not have to do so. He said his piece on FEPC just before it was killed, declaring he was against it because it was unconstitutional anyway and would stir up more prejudice than it would cure. One would never suspect, from these speeches, that the Republican party promised in its 1944 platform to enact FEPC legislation.

It does not take very keen insight, and no "inside" information to arrive at the conclusion that the "battle" over FEPC from January 17 through February 9, except on the part of a few senators of both parties, was pretty much of a sham battle. The Democrats have little cause for boasting over their part in the fiasco.

Obviously both the Democrats and the Republicans in this election year were striving to make a record without actually passing this bill or any similar to it. Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico carried the brunt of the fight and, in our opinion, was sincere every step of the way. The other cheerful news is that 48 votes were secured for cloture, a record number.

The fight for FEPC is just beginning. The next step is to secure the 218 signatures on Discharge Petition No. 4 in the House and bring the bill out of committee for a vote. The bill can be passed in the House if it gets to the floor, for House rules do not permit a filibuster—*and every member of the House is up for election next fall.* If the political shenanigans continue, the voters will understand what to do in November.

The Right to Work

ANOTHER history-making decision in the continuing fight of the Negro to secure and hold employment was rendered last month by the California Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Chief Justice Phil Gibson.

Wilbert Williams, a shipyard worker, had sued for an injunction to restrain the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers from interfering with his employment and that of 2,000 Negro fellow workers because they were not members of the union. The Boilermakers had a closed shop contract with certain shipyards. The local union barred Negroes from membership, but permitted their employment in the shipyards. However, after employment, the Negroes were directed to pay dues into a Jim Crow auxiliary union which did not give them the same protection as that given workers in the regular union. The Negro workers refused to pay dues into the auxiliary, declaring they were the victims of discrimination. The Boilermakers then sought to have them fired from their jobs. The Negroes went to court, losing in the lower tribunal, but winning in the supreme court.

One of the great obstacles which Negro workers have had to face in certain craft unions has been the auxiliary Jim Crow local which had no power and was completely at the mercy of the white parent local. The California Supreme Court, respected throughout the land for its opinions in labor cases, has opened the door a little wider to Negro workers seeking equality of economic opportunity.

William Allan Neilson

THE NAACP, the Negro generally, and the nation at large lost a stalwart citizen in the death last month of Dr. William Allan Neilson, president-emeritus of Smith College. Dr. Neilson was known literally to millions as a scholar and a crusader. His long service at Smith and his devotion to a practical and working democracy marked him as one of the country's great men. His kindliness, wit, and love of mankind won the affection of all who were privileged to know him.

After retiring from the active presidency, Dr. Neilson gave more time and attention to his position as a member of the board of directors of the NAACP, along with other causes in which he was interested. The Committee of 100, of which he was the chairman, raised more than $100,000 to support the legal work of the NAACP. His passion for the democratic process, for the America which *had* to be, was such that mere attendance at board meetings was not enough for him. He was to be found in the forefront of the battle not only for the rights of the Negro, but for those of all Americans who were denied their full opportunities in the nation, and for all principles which would strengthen and expand the American ideal itself.

Murder

CHARLES FERGUSON of Freeport, L. I., N. Y. served his term in the Army of the United States and then re-enlisted for further service, but he never got to his assignment because he was shot down—not by the Japanese or the Germans—but by Patrolman Joseph Romeika of the Freeport police force. Killed at the same time was Alphonse Ferguson, his brother. Wounded at the same time by the fast-shooting Romeika was Joseph, another brother, who was in the uniform of the United States Navy. Richard, a fourth brother, recently discharged from the Army and still in uniform, escaped the Romeika hail of lead.

After an examination of the various stories of this tragic incident which took place just after midnight on the morning of February 5, it is difficult to classify this double killing as anything but murder.

Romeika claims Charles engaged in a harsh exchange of words with him. Charles was then kicked in the groin and the policeman drew his gun, lining the four brothers up against a wall, together with another colored man, Herman Crummell, whose only "crime" was that he happened to be passing along the street at the moment. The five men had their hands over their heads. Romeika claims Charles reached for his hip pocket, whereupon the policeman shot him dead, fatally wounded Alphonse, and wounded Joseph in the shoulder.

The brothers were residents of Freeport. Three of them were in uniform. They had been celebrating their reunion and the re-enlistment of Charles. They may have been boisterous and quite likely argumentative, but every policeman is familiar with boisterous, celebrating soldiers and sailors. These men were not lawbreakers and apparently their great offense was the argument Charles offered Romeika. Why would a policeman pull his gun in a mere argument?

This is the type of police action which creates the tensions that lead to riots.

FEPC: Its Feckless Friends

This article consists mainly of excerpts from the Congressional Record, the official proceedings of the U. S. Congress. These quotations cover the period January 17 - February 7, 1946. Though Congress and the nation were faced with such momentous issues as strikes, inflation, world famine, and the President's reconversion program, the Senate spent twenty days "trying to take advantage of the Lord's prayer"

IT was Thursday, January 17, in the Senate of the United States of America. The Chaplain Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., had already offered his prayer, the attendance had been noted, the Journal approved, and the bored senators were sitting back waiting for President Truman's message on the state of the union. Under Senate rules this was the period reserved for the introduction of bills, petitions, and memorials, during which debate is barred. Up rose Senator Dennis N. Chavez (D., New Mexico) to move that the "Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 101, Calendar No. 286."

The *Record* continues:

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

THE CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 101) to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

MR. WHITE. [Wallace White, R., of Maine] Mr. President, do I understand correctly that the Senator moves that the bill be now considered by the Senate?

MR. CHAVEZ. I do. The Senator is correct.

MR. HILL. I have not discussed the matter with the Senator, but I understand he would perhaps address himself to the subject today but would not make the motion today. Am I in error in that understanding?

MR. CHAVEZ. The Senator is in error and I have made the motion.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I make the point of order that the motion having been made prior to 2 o'clock and after the conclusion of the morning business it is not debatable.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is sustained.

MR. WHITE. I make the point that there is not a quorum present.

At this point the presiding officer asked the clerk to call the roll. Sixty-six senators answered to their names; hence a quorum was present.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 101, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

MR. CHAVEZ. I ask for the yeas and nays.

"The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk called the roll. The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 17." Since Senator Chavez's motion was agreed to, the Senate proceeded to consider S. 101.

Then Senator Walter George of Georgia got the floor. "When the Senate met on Monday," he peevishly explained, "the distinguished majority leader [Mr. Barkley] asked that nothing be done until the President's message was submitted. Many of us were laboring under the definite impression, induced by the action taken at that time, that no controversial matter of any kind would be brought up at this time."

The *Record* gives the following colloquy on Senator George's "definite impression":

MR. MORSE. . . . The *Congressional Record* will show that on the last day of the last session the junior senator from Minnesota [Mr. Ball], the junior senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smith], the junior senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], and the senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] . . . served notice on the Senate that the beginning of the next session we would call for action on the FEPC bill.

MR. CHAVEZ. That is correct. . .

MR. MORSE. I am sure the Senator will agree that there is no basis for criticism of the so-called strategy used today by the proponents of FEPC on the ground that anyone in the Senate has been taken by surprise today. . .

Bill Could Be Passed

At this juncture Senator John H. Overton (D., La.) voices the real reason why the southern *bloc* does not want S. 101 considered.

"I think the Senator knows, as I know," Overton explains to Senator Chavez, "that if the bill were put to a vote at the present time by the Senate it would be passed. But it is not going to be passed until we have an opportunity of saying what we want to say."

Senator John H. Bankhead (D., Ala.) also frankly admitted that the aim of his southern colleagues was to keep the bill from being put to a vote. "But all senators know that we on this side of the question are required, by the threat of action by a powerful majority, to hold the floor, at least if we can, until we can present to the Senate and the country . . . the reasons why this bill should not be passed."

Southern opposition alone, therefore, could not have brought about defeat of FEPC. The measure was killed by southerners with the aid of northern Republicans and Democrats. The supposed friends of FEPC were either absent or lukewarm in debate when present. On the afternoon of February 7 Republican leader Wallace H. White, Jr., of Maine, actually praised the filibuster. Immediately following this speech, Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio), who claims he was in favor of the bill, was heard to declare that he favored the "deal." Another aspect of the "deal" was the setting of the cloture vote for 4 p. m. on Saturday, February 9. Senator Chavez's daughter was scheduled to be married at 1 o'clock on this day and the opponents of the bill were hoping that Chavez would not be present to put up a fight. They were also depending on senators being absent Saturday afternoon.

But before we give verbatim excerpts from the speeches of the "friends" of FEPC, we want to explain the technique of one of the most bizarre filibusters in the history of the U. S. Senate. With the exception of a few sincere senators, the whole proceeding was a sham battle between the proponents and the opponents of FEPC.

How the Filibuster Worked

The southerners were temporarily caught off guard when the Senate voted

to consider S. 101, but they quickly rallied and organized their forces. This is what they did.

When the session opened, the Senate's business was a motion to amend the *Journal* of Thursday in order to insert the text of the chaplain's prayer.

Quoting the *Record:*

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hoey in the chair). Seventy-eight senators have answered to their names, a quorum is present.

MR. OVERTON. Mr. President, I send to the desk a motion and ask that it be stated.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion will be stated.

> The motion was read by the chief clerk, as follows:
>
> I move to amend the Journal of the Senate for Thursday, January 17, 1946, so as to include therein in full the prayer delivered by the Chaplain of the Senate at the convening of the Senate on said day, and that the Journal clerk be instructed to incorporate such prayer in the Journal of the proceedings at the proper place.

Under an earlier McKellar ruling this motion was debatable without limit and cloture could not be applied to it even with a two-thirds vote. McKellar had held that cloture could be used only on a bill, and a motion to amend the *Journal* was not a bill. Senator Robert A. Taft now met this situation by proposing that the Overton motion be laid on the table. This motion was not debatable and was passed by a vote of 48 to 20.

Upon announcement of this vote several senators clamored for the floor, but the presiding officer chose to recognize Senator Clyde Hoey (D., N. C.). Hoey immediately offered a new amendment to the *Journal* requiring insertion in the record of the names of senators who did not answer the first quorum call on January 17.

The filibuster was under way. Thereafter the Senate discussed many things. It was appropriate for southern senators to discuss the Negro, since he is a subject dear to their hearts and the occasion warranted it. Tydings of Maryland orated on majority rule and the right to work. Senator Overton of Louisiana raised his voice in praise of the "very able Chaplain." The range of the speeches, most of which came from the Southerners in the turgid rhetoric of the local hustings, was not broad. In addition to Negroes, social equality (also dear to the heart of all Southerners), and northern agitators, there were frequent digs at Jews and Communists. Frayed larynges were often rested by reading into the *Record* such odd items as editorials, letters, and personal comments made by opponents of FEPC.

FEPC demanded the support of debate, but its "friends" offered little. Strongest statement made by a senator in support of cloture, which would have forced a vote on the bill, came from Senator Alben W. Barkley (D., Ky.), who on January 24 explained:

"I wish to state that I have supported this proposed legislation. I supported it during the administration of Mr. Roosevelt, who inaugurated the Fair Employment Practice Committee. I supported it in the appropriations which were brought forward here for its maintenance. I supported it in the last session of Congress when the matter of appropriations was involved, and there was a delay due to the debate which took place. I was somewhat instrumental, I think, in bringing about the agreement that enabled the Fair Employment Practice Committee to go forward for the fiscal year ending next June 30.

"I favor this legislation. I voted, Mr. President, to extend the arm of the Federal Government into every home in the United States and take from the homes and communities every able-bodied man available for military service without regard to race, color, creed, religion, ancestry, or origin. When we passed the draft law subjecting every able-bodied man in this country between certain ages to compulsory service in behalf of his country, in behalf of our institutions, in behalf of our way of life and our form of democracy, we made no exceptions, we made no exemptions on account of race or color or ancestry.

"Mr. President, so far as I am concerned—and I do not assume to speak for anyone but myself—so far as I am concerned as a Senator from my State I do not see how I, having voted to subject men to compulsory military service in behalf of our institutions in wartime, can refuse to vote for the same kind of democracy in peace when the war has been won. The world is now in a chaotic condition. The people of the world are wondering what, after all, is to come out of this great struggle in behalf of all the people of the world. And especially are we in the United States of America wondering what will happen to our people."

Republican Defection

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) contributed nothing to the debate but parliamentary guile. Senator Wallace H. White, Jr. (R., Maine), floor leader of the party that proclaimed support of FEPC at Chicago, was against cloture, a stickler for the pros and cons of debate, and father of the brilliant *aperçu* that senators could learn more about the bill by adding just one hour to their sessions.

On February 7 minority leader Wallace White, Jr., of Maine, boldly championed the filibuster. He doubted the constitutionality and wisdom of S. 101. And he would vote neither for cloture nor FEPC.

Lesson is Obvious

Lessons from this sham battle over FEPC are obvious. First, the "friends" of FEPC, with a few exceptions, put up no fight for the measure. And the defensive debates were lamed by their defection. Secondly, Republican proclamation of support of a permanent FEPC at Chicago was simply political expediency and a device for snaring Negro votes in the pivotal northern and western states. The GOP is busy tightening the bolts and tapping the wheels of the party machine and lip service to FEPC is a part of the equipment. This is not a good augury for Negro support in the next presidential election. All the evidence suggests that FEPC could have been passed if the Republican stalwarts had fought for it. And if the Democratic Administration had really put on the pressure.

Termination of the filibuster came with the presentation of a petition for cloture, signed by forty-eight senators, on February 4. However, when put to vote on February 9 the petition lost by the narrow margin of eight votes. Though defeated in the Senate the FEPC bill is still on the Senate calendar and will undoubtedly pass when it comes up for vote. In the House the bill is still in committee.

In the meantime, the NAACP has instructed its 1,200 branches to use their influence to help defeat for re-election those senators who refused to vote for cloture, as well as those who wilfully absented themselves from the session voting on cloture. In the new drive for FEPC the Association has invited the collaboration of any organization "whose purposes are the same as ours."

On February 28 the Association closely collaborated with the National Council for a Permanent FEPC in a gigantic mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden. And prior to this meeting Walter White had already participated in a strategy conference on FEPC held in Washington, D. C., February 22-23.

Remember that the FEPC bill displaced by the Senate on February 9 can be called up again during the present session whenever sufficient pressure is mobilized. Even the Southern opposition admits this. In the House the FEPC bill can be passed as soon as it is gotten out of the rules committee by a discharge petition. *Write your congressman to sign Discharge Petition No. 4.* It is still short of the necessary 218 signatures.—J. W. IVY

Chicago: a City of Covenants

By Robert C. Weaver

Restrictive covenants which bottle Negroes up into black ghettos create the type of social and economic problems described in this article

A FEW years ago it was stated that 80 per cent of Chicago was covered by race restrictive covenants. Since that time, the estimate has been repeatedly quoted. These facts are symbolic: they reflect the high frequency of racial covenants in Chicago and the loss of perspective which usually typifies discussions of the subject.

Through the extensive use of racial housing covenants, economic and community pressures, violence to person and property, and neighborhood pressures, Negroes in Chicago are, and have been, bottled up in inadequate areas of living. This is an indisputable fact. In the first place, not 80 per cent of Chicago is in or available to residential use; a large proportion is in public use or devoted to industry and commerce. In certain high-cost areas far removed from centers of Negro occupancy and not subject to change of ownership over long periods, it is doubtful if such covenants are universal. More important, however, is the fact that many low-rent areas do not have racial covenants. Negroes are discouraged from living in such areas by less respectable but equally effective means. Finally, of course, there is vacant land in Chicago, and much of it (in unsubdivided areas) is not covered by covenants.

The housing situation confronting Negroes in northern and western urban centers follows a fairly well established pattern, the outstanding features of which are apparent in localities into which colored people have migrated suddenly and extensively. Chicago is one such city; it is especially significant because there have been two large-scale migrations of Negroes in less than thirty years, and in the period between these wartime migrations the Negro population grew steadily. Even during the depression, about 40,000 colored people moved to Chicago.

Although authorities differ as to the exact situation in the pre-World War I period, there is almost universal agreement that there was no one well-defined Negro ghetto prior to 1910. Negroes lived in most sections of the city; and many were in neighborhoods with whites, although the whites usually moved out when an appreciable number of Negroes moved in. There were, however, certain specific communities where colored people were not welcome; on the other hand, Negroes could and did move into new areas, and all colored people were not in black belts.

Chicago Housing Authority

The mile-a-minute ultra-modern streamliner rushes past mile upon mile of frame houses, like this one which greets the Chicago visitor.

Growth of the City

After 1910, the city began to grow rapidly. The largest center of Negro concentration, the South Side, began to expand enormously in a thin strip. A few other areas occupied by Negroes began to expand, too, but no new areas within the city proper were opened to colored occupancy. Although prior to World War I, over a half of the Negroes lived in areas less than 50 per cent Negro; by 1930, over two-thirds of the colored people were in black belts; today the proportion is probably much higher.

Drake and Cayton estimate that by 1930, about 75 per cent of the residential area of Chicago was covered by racial covenants.[1] Densities in the principal black belts were unbelievably high; there are 90,000 Negroes living in a square mile as compared to 20,000 whites in an adjacent area of the same size. The Chicago plan Commission (which tends to minimize the housing problems of the city) estimated in 1939 that over 250,000 persons were living in 4.2 square miles in the main South Side Negro areas. The Commission observed that such . . . "a density is more than is desirable were the area occupied entirely by three-story walk-up apartments, whereas much of it is taken up with smaller structures." This area had an excess population of over 85,000 persons in 1939. Even if it had been built up to the maximum, it would still have had about 16,500 too many residents. This and other smaller ghettos available to Negroes could not have accommodated adequately the pre-World War II colored population of the city.

Over 70,000 additional Negroes moved to Chicago after 1939. These workers and their families were relegated principally to the established Negro areas—areas which are already filled to over-flowing. As in World War I, the situation was complicated by the cessation of new construction, the lack of replacement of worn out buildings, and the general housing shortage. It was in the sphere of housing, therefore, that the most severe and dangerous racial tensions developed.

Negroes slowly moved into new areas. Most of the facilities they entered were either rundown and unprofitable for white occupancy or vacant because of the extreme state of disrepair. But to hemmed in colored people who could find no place else to live, they were attractive; Negro tenants were a God-send to owners and managers. Rents were, of course, all out of proportion to the "going" rates for such undesirable dwellings.

Whites resisted the entrance of Negroes into the new areas as they had often done in the past. Negroes were dispossessed as a result of court orders upholding racial covenants; and in one instance, white neighbors demolished a dwelling purchased by a Negro. In several neighborhoods Negro tenants were

terrorized and property was damaged. The makings of Chicago's race riot of 1919 appeared. Fortunately, however, the police were finally alerted, and the immediate problem of law enforcement was faced. The basic housing dilemma of Chicago still remains unsolved. It is constantly complicated by the actions of property protective and neighborhood associations which are pressing for race restrictive housing covenants.

The Housing Problem

The essence of the housing problem of Negroes in Chicago and elsewhere in the North and West is a lack of space and housing facilities. This condition has arisen because colored people no longer have free access to all sections of the city. They are limited to well-defined and inadequate areas.

The mass migration of Negroes to urban centers in World War II complicated an already serious problem of overcrowding in black belts. The resulting congestion is reflected in current figures—figures which will become much more alarming as discharged veterans continue to swell the populations of our cities. A few comparisons of the degree of overcrowding between white and Negro families will be illustrative. In Cincinnati, Ohio, 6.8 per cent of the white families were overcrowded in 1945; for Negroes the percentage was 15.3 per cent. Comparable figures for a few other cities were as follows: Cleveland, whites 1.9 per cent; Negroes 8.7 per cent; and St. Louis, whites 5.1 per cent, Negroes 20.2 per cent. In the largest urban center for which we have current data, Cleveland, Ohio, overcrowding among Negroes was almost five times as intense as for whites.

The peculiar intensity of the housing problems of Negroes is not due to their disproportionately low incomes alone. The really distinctive factor underlying these problems stems from the fact that, among the basic consumer goods, only for housing are Negroes traditionally excluded from freely competing in the open market. Consequently, not only do the majority of Negroes live in low-rent substandard housing, but even when colored families can afford rents which normally assure decent shelter, they are often denied it.[2]

Restrictive Covenants

Of all the instruments which effect residential segregation, race restrictive covenants are the most dangerous.[3] They give legal sanction (until declared unconstitutional) and the appearance of respectability to residential segregation. This is a significent psychological force since racial covenants are usually most prevalent among the middle-and upper-income groups. As a result, other groups resort to less formal, but often more direct means of keeping Negroes out. As long as the "better people" of Chicago sign restrictions against certain groups and the courts enforce such agreements, other elements will take steps to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods, too.

Chicago Housing Authority

Slums can be abolished. The Ida B. Wells Housing Project, part of which is shown here, is located on a site which was formerly occupied by the worst type of slums. Its present occupants, who have been in it for several years, came out of such slums.

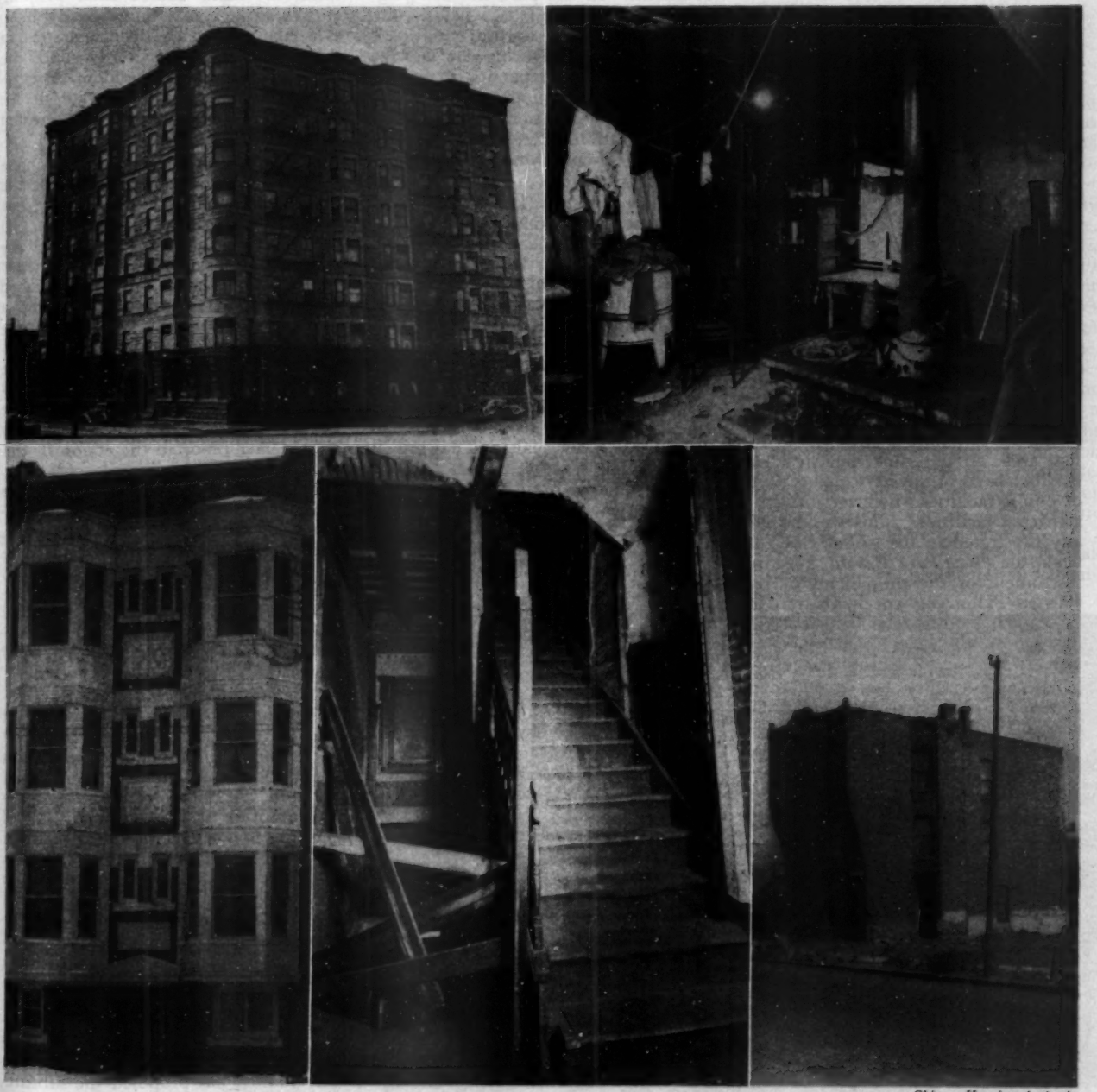
Closely associated with this psychological factor are the economic results of racial covenants and the residential segregation they facilitate. The most important of these is the limitation of the supply of housing available to Negroes in Chicago on *all* income levels. The white population has developed deep-rooted interests in all neighborhoods not already occupied by Negroes. Even vacant land is given color status. Consequently, when economic and governmental pressures provided funds and priorities for public and private housing for Negroes during the war, there was opposition to such construction on any and all sites outside the established ghettos. These black belts, already over-populated, offered no desirable large sites for new construction.

Negroes have been and are exposed to economic exploitation in their quest for shelter in Chicago. Slum property owners and race restrictive covenant manipulators are two sides of the same coin. Both develop vested interests in maintaining the black belt. One reaps large returns by encouraging a limited supply of housing for Negroes; the other sells a false sense of protection to white occupants of surrounding neighborhoods.

Negroes in Chicago have gone into new areas. Their movement, however, has followed a pattern of gradual accretions to existing areas of occupancy. This has occurred without regard to the type of housing involved. *Race restrictive covenants have not prevented and cannot prevent the expansion of living space for the mounting Negro population.* In 1937, for example, colored people entered the Washington Park subdivision at a time when it was claimed that 95 per cent of the frontage was covered by racial covenants. In this and other instances, such covenants delayed the ultimate expansion of the black belt and created unyielding determination on the part of white occupants to keep Negroes out. But there was a final break-through.

Since the supply of housing and vacant land available to Negroes has never equaled or approached the need in the last 25 years, the result is a perpetuation of overcrowding. And the fact that many of the dwellings involved are usually ill-adapted to the family needs and rent-paying abilities of low-income families leads inevitably to doubling-up and physical deterioration. Residential segregation becomes contagious and spreads to other areas—areas into which low-income families would normally move.

IN CHICAGO'S BLIGHTED AREAS



Chicago Housing Authority

The Ellis Building, 3100 S. Ellis Avenue, is an eight-story walk-up, containing 65 apartments, and housing nearly 200 families—about 800 persons. The picture at top, right, is fairly typical of the interiors of slum dwellings. Notice that despite the bad physical conditions and inadequate utilities, such as the stove, the family has enough interest and means to purchase a washing machine, which is shown in the photograph. The two pictures at bottom left are of the same building—the exterior and the interior. The exterior is rather attractive and when contrasted with the interior gives a pretty good idea of what overcrowding will do to a building. The building at the right, bottom, is a fairly typical slum structure.

Drake and Cayton, in *Black Metropolis*, have graphically described the social ills of residential segregation in Chicago. Deterioration of physical facilities is the most obvious. Physical deterioration is caused by economic and not racial factors. It occurs whenever and with whomever overcrowding is prevalent. But overcrowding, regardless of its cause, brings a decline in neighborhood standards and an inevitable inadequacy of neighborhood services such as street repair, garbage and trash removal, police and fire protection. The city also loses heavily through decreased tax revenues, because records prove that the slum areas do not pay their share of taxes.

Segregation Spreads

Residential segregation in Chicago has caused segregation in schools, recreational facilities and other public services. This has occurred because when groups are herded together in a given area, they are generally confined to the use of public facilities located in that area. At the same time, residents in other parts of the city come to think of public facilities which serve them as restricted facilities. This was graphically illustrated in the summer of 1945 when the *Hyde Park Herald*, a leading instrument of the proponents of race restrictive housing covenants in Chicago, erroneuosly claimed that the beaches on the lake front of the city were "white" and "Negro" beaches.

As long as Negroes are relegated and confined to a physically undesirable area in Chicago (and any overcrowded neighborhood inevitably becomes physically unattractive), they are associated with blight. The occupants of the black belt are all believed to be undesirable (as, indeed, some are as a result of the conditions imposed on them), and their perpetual and universal banishment to the ghetto is defended on the basis of imputed racial characteristics.

Since the very existence of segregation results in diminished intergroup contact, prejudiced attitudes grow stronger, and segregation gains increasing popular acceptance. Any proposal to encourage normal intergroup associations is automatically opposed. An illustration from the schools will support this observation. Overcrowded housing in Chicago's South Side has created overcrowded schools. One of these, Englewood High School, is located in an area where the population has shifted in racial composition and the whites have constantly opposed the further expansion of Negroes. High school children reflected the attitudes of their parents and resorted to direct action. There were scores of racial "incidents." Finally, the white students struck in protest against the increasing proportion of Negroes in the school.

Chicago has long participated in the fight against race restrictive housing covenants. In the past, this campaign has been centered in two fields, court action and pressure for anti-racial covenant legislation. During the last few years, it has been expanded to include an extension of legal action, continuing pressure for legislation, a wide-spread public relations campaign, and proposals for economic and community action.

The well-known Lee versus Hansberry case, which the NAACP carried to the Supreme Court, symbolized the legal fight. While it was instrumental in securing the right of colored people to move into the Washington Park district, it did not touch upon the constitutionality of race restrictive housing covenants. It did, however, contribute to a growing amount of litigation which is weakening specific covenants in specific areas where neighborhoods are changing. Individuals and lawyers in Chicago have a score of cases pending, and the Chicago Branch of the NAACP is seeking $50,000 to continue the legal fight. Significantly, the recent NAACP Legal Committee's conference on methods of attacking restrictive covenants was held in Chicago.

Bills have been introduced in the Illinois State Legislature banning racial covenants. I am advised that such legislation would, if passed, outlaw future covenants and prohibit the renewal of existing ones when they expire. While there is little likelihood that the legislation will be passed in the near future, agitation for it is extremely important. The hearings and debates on such bills do much to bring the cost of racial covenants to the attention of all groups in Chicago. Consequently, the fight for anti-racial covenant legislation is an important part of the strategy to weaken and abolish the instrument.

Condemnation of Covenants

Racial covenants have recently been condemned by local organizations which formerly would have considered them too controversial to discuss openly. In 1944, for example, the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations unanimously condemned racial covenants and went on record to "continue to work earnestly with other effective agencies to rid the city of arbitrary restrictions on the living space of any group." Subsequently, the Metropolitan Housing Council, whose membership includes a good representation of real estate and mortgage officials, passed a resolution condemning racial covenants; the National Public Housing Conference of Chicago passed an unequivocable resolution to the same effect.

These and other frontal attacks upon racial covenants caused their proponents to strike back. Significantly, however, they seemed a little less sure of themselves than previously, and the leading champion of residential segregation, became so intemperate in his statements that many disinterested whites were antagonized.

Negro newspapers, of course, have long attacked covenants. Perhaps the most telling campaign was in the last mayorality election when the principal factor in weaning the Negro from the Republican candidate was the *Chicago Defender's* revelation that he had signed a race restrictive housing covenant—a fact that was vividly brought to the South Side's attention by the reproduction of the covenant on the front page of the city edition. The *Chicago Sun* has, on occasions, editorialized on the subject, and most of the Chicago daily papers have reported the action of citizens' groups opposing racial covenants.

Pamphlets attacking racial covenants have been issued and widely distributed by the Chicago Urban League, the Chicago NAACP, and the Committee on Racial and Religious Equality. The Mayor's Committee on Race Relations and the Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination have repeatedly discussed and opposed racial covenants.

The American Council on Race Relations has constantly stressed the fact that there can be no rational approach to the housing problems of minorities within the framework of residential segregation. As an agency serving many communities, it has repeatedly urged the abolition of racial covenants, and it has developed suggestions as to method. The NAACP Conference on covenants was held in its offices, and the Council assembled seven outstanding Negro organizations in order to secure agreement on a program for meeting the housing needs of colored people. In December, 1945 the CIO published the resulting basic guide for collective action.[4] In addition to the legal, legislative and public relations approaches, the Council has proposed the substitution of occupancy standards for race restrictive covenants. It has stressed that "the solution of the housing problem of minorities and the way to remove fear of their 'invasion' into new neighborhoods is *to provide more space and facilities.*" The Council has issued many analyses of racial covenants, and it has distributed 20,000 copies of its pamphlet, "Hemmed In."

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Imperialism Returns to Asia

By S. Chandrasekhar

"JAPANESE imperialism is dead. Long live imperialism!" seems to be the verdict of the United Nations, particularly the big two, Britain and the United States, on the political conditions in South East Asia. The British, the French, the Dutch, and yes, even the Americans are trying their best to restore the *status quo* of September 1939 and December 1942—the very *status quo* that led to the bloody, costly global holocaust just over.

When Japan unleashed her mechanized forces from Manila to Pearl Harbor, colonial Asia was a kind of private preserve of the European imperialists and monopolistic capitalists. In a few months, the entire region all the way from Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, and Indonesia to the Philippines passed under Japanese tutelage in a series of swift and strategic blows. The United Nations paused aghast for a while, pondered deeply, and then took stock of the cause that had led to the rapid Japanese conquest of the entire colonial and semi-colonial areas with the single exception of India.

The reasons were simple and clear. A general of the United Nations retreated from Burma into India, after the fall of Rangoon, and explained the loss of Burma thus: "Ten percent of the Burmese were pro-British, another ten percent were pro-Japanese, the rest were just indifferent as to who their bosses were." It took the fall of Burma, after nearly two centuries of British rule, to teach us that the Asiatics were ruled, nay exploited, not for the benefit of the Asiatic peoples, but for the benefit of European investment capital.

The sixteen million Burmese, at any rate, did not sufficiently realize the benefits of British democracy to throw in their lot with the British against the Japanese. Not a single Burman seemed to be sorry that the British were kicked out. To these people who worked from dawn to dusk for less than fifteen cents a day, it mattered little who were the rulers. As far as their happiness went, they argued, they could not be worse off and so they accepted the Japanese, "the Devil they didn't know in the place of the British Devil they did know—" as the then Burmese premier, Mr. U. Saw put it.

World War II stirred up the Asiatics, and Western Imperialism which would now have them content themselves with the status quo ante bellum is asking the impossible

European Bosses Mediocre

Apart from the economic reason that Asia was ruled by the little Western European countries for their sole benefit by exploiting the region's rich raw materials and the cheap, docile, native labor, there was a deeper psychological reason. It was racial prejudice, the white man's divinely ordained burden. There is as much ethnic-cultural similarity between the European and the Asiatic as there is between the New Yorker and the Eskimo. The majority of the white men who bossed over these regions politically, economically and otherwise, would have been classed as utter mediocrities in their own home countries or in any free competitive society of the West. They were at least two centuries behind their times. The least intelligent and the most mediocre, who could not make both ends meet in Europe, who huddled in two-and-a-half room apartments, and walked to their grocery stores, became in Asia big bosses in spacious bungalows with an army of servants. The meanest Portuguese, Dutchman, Frenchman or Britisher became a *Sahib* while the ablest and the most gifted Asiatic national was just a *native*—a good English word no doubt—but psychologically someone to look down upon. The reason was simple. They were the *herrenvolk*, for were they not pale and colorless? The Asiatic was colorful, colored, pigmented.

It is no wonder that Japan capitalized on her essentially ethnic slogan,

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Civilians jam the streets in Bombay, India, to welcome Jawaharlal Nehru (top center), Indian nationalist, at the time of his release from prison by order of Lord Wavell. Indian leaders asked for freedom and were jailed. Nehru was imprisoned in 1942.

INDONESIAN CABINET AND ASIAN LEADERS

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The Indonesian president, Achmed Soekarno, front row center in uniform, poses with his cabinet in front of his house in Batavia where he leads the fight against restoration of Netherlands rule in the East Indies. Left to right: Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, British governor of Burma. Upon the downfall of Burma he retreated into India and set up a little exile government. Cambridge-educated ex-Congress president Subhas Chandra Bose, wrongly accused by the British of being a quisling, founder of the Indian National Army. U. Saw was at one time premier of Burma. After a visit to the United States and Britain he was arrested by the British in Cairo, Egypt. Nothing further has been heard of him.

"Asia for the Asiatics." Some Asiatic leaders, like India's able Cambridge-educated ex-Congress president, Subhas Chandra Bose (he recently died in a Japanese plane crash), who was no quisling, and whose sensitive soul could not bear the British racial arrogance, sympathized intellectually with Japan and walked over to the other side when the opportunity presented itself. When the Japanese made the British pull rickshaws in Burma or dig ditches in Malaya, the Asiatics had a long awaited laugh and looked on with a vicarious vengeance. Colonial Asiatic sympathies, by and large, were on the Japanese side; and, to them, for very good reasons. But there were some of us, a minority no doubt, who thought they understood, (how mistaken we were!) the ideological reasons for the war and sided with the Allies, hoping that there was a vital difference between the European Allies and Japan.

The basic reason for Asia's cry for freedom is economic. If I may generalize, Asia as a whole—India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia and Indo China—has suffered under a dual economy ever since the Europeans fought their way to political power two to three centuries ago. There was a native agricultural economy and a colonial large scale economy. The former, covering eighty percent of Asia's land area, consisted of growing rice and some subsidiary crops for local consumption. The large scale economy consisted of scientific and thorough exploitation of rubber, sugar, iron, petroleum, tin for foreign consumption, financed by foreign capital from London, Paris, Amsterdam and New York. If Asiatic resources were exploited and converted into a myriad manufactured commodities within the frontiers of Asia, it would have been a different and beneficient story of industrialization, production and fuller employment. But Asia was confined to the role of a supplier of raw materials and cheap labor. Since the capital to finance the exploitation of the mineral resources came from abroad, the raw materials had to be taken abroad to feed Western factories, and the profits naturally flowed abroad. Thus Southwest Asia became dependent on foreign industries and their demand for Asiatic resources, and ultimately a pawn in international financial deals. So when the war broke out none of these regions had neither the power nor the plants to forge the weapons for modern warfare. The native people—all the way from Assam to Batavia—remained pauperized peasants without even the irreducible minimum requirements of decent human existence.

The last factor in the Asiatic politico-economic situation was the Japanese superiority in mechanized warfare in Asia. They had bullets and bombs, tanks and torpedoes, but certainly not more than the combined strength of colonial Asia. But colonial Asia could not fight the Japanese, for she was completely disarmed. It has been so ever since the Europeans conquered the region. When the European masters suddenly found themselves faced with a competitor for Asiatic spoils with equal and initially more and superior weapons, they wanted to rouse the Asiatics to fight for them. And were the Western Allies disappointed! The imperialist blockheads finally discovered that an Asiatic colonial government, always thinking in terms of the security of the ruling race, cannot organize the people for national defense or create that enthusiasm in the local population to resist the invader, which can only come if the people are fighting for their own freedom.

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Java's Dr. Achmed Soekarno, 40-year-old president of Indonesia. Born of an old, cultivated Javanese family, Soekarno has spent most of his life struggling for Indonesian freedom. Graduating from the Bandoeing Technical University, he soon abandoned engineering for politics. By 1927 he was organizing the Parti Nascional Indonesia, *pledged to "achieve independence by revolutionary means." Charged with "disruptive activities," Soekarno was jailed for four years; he was released in 1931.*

Japan conquered all Southeast Asia within a few weeks.

During the war, it must be recalled, for public memory seems to be notoriously short, the allied European nations made a tremendous fuss about this being a war against Japanese Fascist aggression; that this was a war of national liberation, mind you; liberation of all Asia. Every conceivable means of communication to reach the hearts, the heads and the ears of the Japanese-subjugated Asiatics was tapped. A barrage of propaganda emphasizing the yawning difference between the Allies and the Axis in Asia was harped upon. Every tiny pocket of Asiatic resistance to Japan was fostered, encouraged and lauded, for were not the Asiatics fighting for their freedom against the Japanese? It was simple and true enough for sprawling China, tiny Korea, and the Philippines that had been promised freedom, but the propaganda was for all Asia. Yes, the Asiatics had just to overthrow the Japanese and the country would be theirs. How simple and how naive.

Cripps' Mission

When the Japanese were bombing Calcutta in 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps from Churchill's coalition cabinet flew to India to offer a promise of postwar political freedom to India's semi-starving four hundred millions. Gandhi called it a post-dated check that a bankrupt postwar Britain would not honor. How prophetic he has been! And in December, 1945, came the announcement that Attlee's Labour government was sending an all-party parliamentary group to India to discuss with Indian political leaders their demands. But it is not a Royal Commission with any official terms of reference and as such, as Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, made clear, will not have any authority to commit the British government. Why was this unofficial commission sent on a wining and dining tour in India if it had no power to give India anything. Attlee's government wants to know what India wants. Yet Attlee himself was a member of the Simon Commission and if he does not know by now what India wants, he will never know. If this is not delaying, side-tracking tactics, what else is it? This is the reward for India's participation in the war.

As for Burma, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the British Governor of Burma who retreated into India to set up a little exile government, said on October 8, 1943, "Politically minded Burmans will be wondering just what our intentions are. Do we really mean to lead them on to the goal of full self-government or have we some reservations at the back of our minds which will mean that self-government will always be round the corner and never an accomplished fact. . . . Neither our word nor our intentions are trusted on that part of the globe." Sir Dorman said this only two years ago but the recent British White Paper on Burma talks in vague generalities of freedom for the sixteen million Burmans in a land as big as Texas. Freedom is still

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It's Never Too Early: a Trilogy

By Thelma Thurston Gorham

A story of children caught up in the tangled skein of race and childish pride

AS SOON as she returned to Bungalow A, following the kindergarten recess, Judy Carlisle sensed something wrong with the little doll house in which she and her small charges took such inordinate pride. The dolls were seated, in prim array, around the tea-table: three or four distinctly oriental-looking ones, a Mexican señorita, a colorful Tyrolean lass and several run-of-the-mill blondes and brunettes of unmistakable American manufacture and origin. Then, as automatically as she had sensed the wrongness, Judy knew what it was. There was one empty chair in the tea-table circle. Where was Suzanne with the long-lashed eyelids that covered life-like brown eyes when she slept? Suzanne with the coarse, black curls who cried, "Ma-ma," when she was laid down? Beautiful, sepia-tinted Suzanne was not in the circle of precisely-propped dolls.

"Where's Suzanne?"

To her question there was a tense, disquieting silence. Usually every kindergartener tried to answer at once; but this time none of the children uttered a word. Stretched on their mats, most of them appeared asleep.

Judy repeated the question: "Where's Suzanne, Shirley's doll? Has anyone seen her?"

On a mat near the blackboards, a little Negro girl sat up and the teacher saw that she was clutching a doll, pressing it tightly against her body, as if to protect it from some great danger.

"Oh, Shirley, you have Suzanne." There was relief in the teacher's voice. "Why did you take her away from the doll house? Your mother said we could keep her until the end of the week. You've wrapped her up as if you are going to take her home."

"I am." Shirley made the statement in a defiant, half-whisper, never loosening her grip on the doll.

"Why? We're going to have the doll's tea party and you wouldn't want Suzanne to miss that, would you?"

Shirley only clutched her doll closer and shook her head.

"What's the matter, then? Won't you tell me?" And stooping down, the teacher knelt beside the little girl and put her arms about the tense, hunched, little shoulders.

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Children building for better understanding at the Friends' Select School playground in Philadelphia, Pa.

She was close enough to catch the words that came, reluctantly, from Shirley's lips: "Neddy said Suzanne is a nigger baby. He said a nigger baby had no business at a tea party with white dolls."

"That's what Neddy said!" Almond-eyed Dickie Lin Ying, pretending deep sleep on the mat beside Shirley had heard, too, and was corroborating the statement. Now the room was suddenly normal again, and the uneasy silence was gone. Judy Carlisle stood up, looked at Neddy, but said nothing to him. Neddy was a new pupil in the kindergarten. He was from the South and his first day in the school had been difficult. He had run away twice because he wanted to sit next to "no one but white children."

Judy was thinking fast, talking a little between her racing thoughts: "We'll keep Suzanne here just the same until the end of the week," she told Shirley, "because on Friday we're going to do something extra special, and we'll need Suzanne. We'll also need Carmen Rodriguez's new dolly and if Rose Shapiro can bring the doll that her uncle sent her from Palestine, it will be wonderful." She allowed the roomful of children to forego the afternoon nap as plans were made for "something extra special."

After the kindergarten had gone home, Judy waited for her two friends, Beth Carnegie of the sewing department and Nina Coleman, geography teacher. "Girls," she announced with preamble, "I've got a little job for you. A rush job. I want flags of all the United Nations and I need some fairly authentic national costumes for some dolls—Spanish, Russian, Polish and Swedish."

Laughingly her friends consented to pitch in and help out. "But what's up?" Nina wanted to know. "Is the peace conference meeting in Bungalow A?"

"No," Judy replied, "the kindergarten is going to have a festival of dolls of all nations—while I try to teach a few lessons in tolerance." She rubbed her chin thoughtfully and added, "It's never too early to teach tolerance, you know."

II

It was a beautiful morning. One of those mornings when everyone feels glad to be alive. The air was sharp with spicy fragrance of a freshly-cut geranium hedge, children and dogs cavorted across the cool, green lawns, somewhere a sweet-voiced bird wooed its mate, and bright, warm rays of sunshine were dispersing the morning mist. Peggy Carroll felt good, happy, glad to be alive. Head proudly uplifted, she pushed the pram as if it were a richly brocaded carriage with platinum wheels and the little brown baby therein, a royal prince wrapped in an ermine robe. On the way to do her marketing, with enough red points to have steak for dinner, a song on her lips, her eyes following the clouds of mist on the distant hills, Peggy did not hear or see the grimy-faced little white boy until he bumped against the baby carriage.

Still smiling, she looked down at the youngster, red-haired, snaggle-toothed, snub-nosed face generously sprinkled with freckles. He was about six years old. "Whose baby you got there?" he inquired, sidling up to the buggy in a friendly fashion. Then he looked into

the buggy. "Why, gee!" There was no hostility, only a grave disappointment in the exclamation. "It's a little nigger baby!"

The boy's words had the effect of suddenly taking all of the sunshine out of the day and enclosing the lovely morning in an ugly, gray sheath. Coming to a jolting stop, standing still, Peggy felt her face become hot all over. She could not speak; but she thought if the boy were older she would have slapped his face.

With feet that no longer skimmed lightly over the ground, eyes scarcely seeing the little brown baby in the pram, she started on her way again. The little white boy was walking in the same direction, slightly ahead of the carriage. Now and then he looked back at the baby. Something in that blithe, backward glance made Peggy suddenly push the buggy a little faster in order to overtake the boy. Deliberately she blocked the child's path.

"Look, my little boy has a new tooth," she invited the youngster's attention. The six-year-old looked and grinned appreciatively.

"His name is Lawrence," Peggy went on matter-of-factly. "Lawrence David Carroll."

"My name is Bobby," the little white boy volunteered. "And I know a boy at school named Lawrence."

"Really, how large is he?" Peggy asked, continuing to make conversation.

"Oh, he's a big boy. 'Bout my size, I guess." was the answer. "We call him Larry. Do you ever call your little baby —your little boy, Larry?"

"No, not yet; but some day I expect his friends will call him Larry."

"Yeah. I 'spect so, too. Larry sounds more friendly, more—more pal-like than Lawrence." The boy walked slowly, keeping pace with the carriage, grinning in a friendly fashion at the baby, smiling shyly at Peggy. At the corner, he put out a grimy-hand and shyly touched the buggy. "This is as far as I can go," he declared regretfully. "I just wanted to walk this far with Larry. Now I gotta go back. Good-bye. 'Bye Larry."

"Goodbye," Peggy called back to him. A song was on her lips again, a lilt in her step; and as suddenly at is had come the cold, gray sheath was gone, allowing the world to be bright and warm again. It was a beautiful morning and it was so good to be alive!

III

Caucasian Social Registerite Amy Rhodes knew that sooner or later it would happen. That one day her small daughter, Elise, would come home from the exclusive Briar Brook school with a problem that had nothing to do with reading, writing or arithmetic. Having seen Elise's erstwhile bosom friends of the third grade pass the house well ahead of her own offspring and now watching the latter's downcast, slow approach, she knew this was it. Whatever it was, it had happened.

Obviously Elise had been holding back her tears; but when she saw her mother she gave up. "Oh, Mommy!" Burying her face in Amy's lap, she let out all of the pent-up hurt and frustration. "I don't like Briar Brook anymore. I don't want to go there."

Amy had been thinking of trying one of the new progressive schools; but she didn't mention it. She wanted to know why Briar Brook was no longer desirable to her child and between tears she learned the reason: "The girls play a game . . ."

"What kind of a game, Darling?"

"We were playing it on the way home, coming across the playground. We were going over and under obstacles and the last one through was a —nigger baby." The last two words came out in a rush of breath as if Elise felt that having to say them she'd get it over as quickly as possible.

Amy had been trying to prepare herself for something like this; but she was still unready. "You mean 'a little Negro baby'. "

"No. I meant what I said. They said it that way, only worse. Doris said, 'The last one through is a nasty, dirty, little old nigger baby'."

"Well?" Amy prodded her daughter on, knowing there was more to come.

"I said that word was an insult and a white person could be one as well as a colored person. I told the kids that and—"

Elise's eyes sought a spot on the floor and warm color suffused her neck and face.

"And what, Darling?" Amy felt that this final answer would be the key to Elise's unhappy state of mind. "After you told them that, what did they say?"

"Doris said she heard her mother say that you had colored—Negro friends and that you were teaching me to be a Negro-lover."

"Only she didn't say 'Negro-lover' like that, did she?"

"No, she said it the other way, the insulting way; and she said that if they found out that I was one they wouldn't play with me."

"Would you mind their not playing with you?" Amy had tried hard to inculcate in her child not just the lukewarm virtues of tolerance but the warmth and sincerity of appreciation and love in her dealings with persons who were different from her in ideas or appearance. Since the day that a chance lecture in anthropology had opened her eyes to fallacies of her own early training, Amy (reared according to the most popular traditions of race supremacy) had learned the hard way to derive real happiness from her associations with people of all group. She had tried hard—perhaps too hard—to pass on that new-found heritage of happiness and understanding to Elise. Some day she had hoped it would pay salutary dividends; but she had known that along the way the going would have its rough spots. This was one of them. "Would you mind it terribly if they didn't play with you?" she repeated.

"Not terribly much. But then I'd be like Myrtle Margolis. She's Jewish and she gets so lonely at times."

The knowledge that her offspring had passed at least one test with flying colors gave Amy a glow of pride tinged with humility. Nevertheless she asked, "How do you know how Myrtle feels?"

"I play with her and she tells me how she feels when they say mean things to her."

"Now you're afraid they'll say mean things to you, too; and call you names, aren't you? Afraid they'll call you names like 'Negro-lover' and 'Jew-lover', maybe? Aren't you?"

Again seeking that elusive spot on the floor, Elise managed a muffled "Yes."

Just that morning, Amy had learned of a new progressive school where children were taught the truth about so-called racial differences and even allowed to work out their own suggestions and solutions in practical democracy. It would be a bit expensive, but it would be worth it. Only, she hadn't wanted to transfer Elise in the middle of the term. And now—

Amy drew the tear-stained face upward until the reluctant blue eyes were obliged to look squarely into her own. "Remember the story of the 'Fraidy Cat?' Remember the times when you were small how you tried so hard not to be like that old 'Fraidy Cat?' You aren't going to be like him now, are you?"

The blue eyes were meeting the challenge, losing their look of frustration, mirroring something bright and courageous. "No! I won't be like the 'Fraidy Cat'!" She said it with spirit. "I'll take my new book to school and read it on the way home tomorrow. The one with all the photographs, about the little colored girl. I think, maybe, Doris and the rest of the girls could learn something from that book. And Doris is nosey, she'll want to look at it and I'll let her. I won't be a

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Jimcrow in Federal Prisons

By James Peck and Albon Man

WHEN twenty-three of us were locked in solitary during our strike to end jimcrow seating in the mess hall of the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Conn., we composed a song entitled "Jimcrow Must Go," which we used to sing through the cracks of cell doors.

It went:

When in a correctional clink
They teach you that colored guys stink,
We say that this sham
Must take it on the lam:
Jimcrow must scram.

Whenever you go to eat grub,
The Negroes you have got to snub;
In teaching to hate
They rehabilitate:
Jimcrow must skate.

They say that Hitler is naugnty
To persecute race in his way,
But when it's done in the U.S.A.,
It's quite perfectly okay.

The blacks are as good as the whites,
Why shouldn't they have equal rights?
The warden says no,
But we tell him it's so:
Jimcrow must go!

The song sums up the situation in these so-called correctional institutions, which though they claim to rehabilitate men for life in the outside world at the same time enforce racial segregation. And it is in these institutions—prisons for men with sentences of less than five years—that the anti-jimcrow drive of conscientious objectors has concentrated.

Last June fourteen men, including three Negroes and a Japanese American, were locked up in solitary at the FCI in Ashland, Ky., for refusing to eat in the mess hall as long as jimcrow seating was in effect. The Prison Bureau has since transferred six of them to other prisons in a vain effort to break the strike.

At about the same time five men were locked up in solitary at the FCI in Milan, Mich., for the same reason. Again the Prison Bureau tried to break it up by transferring some of the strikers, but here, too, the move failed. Three months ago Milan finally began to erase the color line. Segregation in the mess hall was ended, and some of the sleeping quarters also became interracial. In spite of inflammatory remarks of certain officials and inmates,

Inmate opposition to prison segregation has brought about many healthy changes in federal correctional institutions

no violence attended these changes, as predicted by the administration when inmates first proposed eliminating jimcrow.

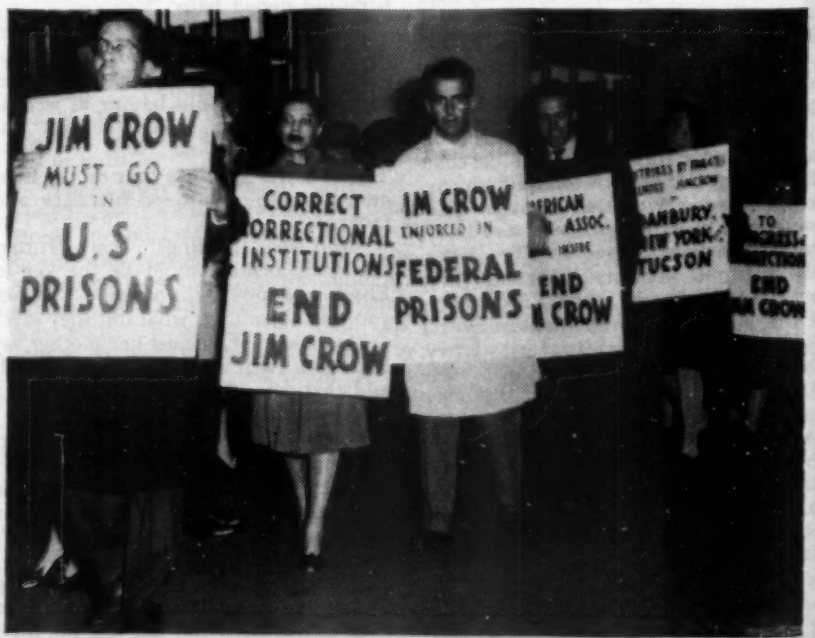
Recently segregated seating was ended at the federal house of detention in New York City following inmate protest action. One day the Negro prisoners simply declined to enter the jimcrow dining hall for breakfast or lunch. By supper segregation was wiped out.

On paper the Ashland strikers are locked up, not for opposing jimcrow, but for violating a prison rule which makes eating in the mess hall compulsory. Similarly, in our Danbury strike, we were, on paper, in solitary not for opposing jimcrow, but for violating a prison rule which makes work compulsory.

Before placing us in solitary the associate warden said: "You are refusing to work," "We are refusing to work BECAUSE of jimcrow seating in the mess hall," we emphasized. "You are refusing to work," he repeated. "We are refusing to work BECAUSE . . ." And so it went until he finally said: "We are not interested in those philosophies."

But regardless of whether the associate warden was interested in "those philosophies," the Federal Bureau of Prisons felt, and still feels uneasy about enforcing jimcrow while the federal administration opposes racial intolerance and endorses FEPC.

Again at Ashland the shopworn arguments of U. S. Prison Director James V. Bennett and of the various wardens are being dragged out: that the inmates will not stand for abolition of jimcrow, that a bloody riot would result, that such changes cannot be made all at once.



Courtesy Kanten

Picketing the convention of the American Prison Association held at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City last November 15. Participants were members of various interracial organizations and former inmates of prisons where discrimination exists.

The complete success of non-segregated seating at Danbury disproves these arguments. Following our strike, when it was announced in the mess hall that after February 1, 1944, men could sit where they chose, a few southern-minded whites shouted about how they'd never sit next to any damn nigger. They also threatened to beat up the conscientious objectors who had taken part in the strike. The only Negroes opposed to ending jimcrow seating were four members of the Israelite sect and an out-and-out fascist who openly favored Hitler.

However, came February 1 and non-segregated seating went into effect without any incident. And within a few days even the handful of southern-minded whites took it for granted. Under the new seating arrangement they were not forced to sit with Negroes; they could sit anywhere they liked.

At first many of the Negroes through habit sat in the former jimcrow section. But within six months this was no longer the case. Danbury being a short-term prison, has a fast turnover of inmates. Hence most of the inmates who were there six months later had never known the jimcrow setup and those who had known it had completely forgotten about it. If Danbury authorities should decide to reestablish jimcrow seating, they would find it a difficult task. Publicity by the Negro press was also a major factor in winning our Danbury strike.

Segregation in the mess halls is the principal target of anti-jimcrow inmates because it is the most insulting symbol of white supremacy in the prisons. But mess halls are not the only sections of federal prisons which are segregated. In most federal prisons all sleeping quarters are jimcrow.

Job Discrimination

The prisons also discriminate against Negroes in job assignments, relegating them to menial tasks. As a result of anti-jimcrow pressure at Danbury, the authorities began assigning Negroes to non-menial jobs. For the first time a Negro was given a job in the education department—not as a cleaner but as a librarian.

In the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., the job discrimination became so flagrant that on July 30, 1945, thirty Negroes refused to eat. The following day two of the Negroes who had decided to continue the fast were thrown in the "hole" and charged with "insolence." Subsequently the associate warden promised a fairer distribution of jobs to Negroes.

Another practice which has aroused resentment among prisoners is the segregation of blood by the Red Cross. In July, 1943, forty Negroes and whites at Danbury flatly refused to give blood to the Red Cross collecting unit which visited the prison. They prevailed on the authorities to let them donate their blood instead to a local public hospital which did not segregate blood. Last spring an inmate at Milan was deprived of one year of his time off, earned by good behavior, because he handed a Red Cross official a letter criticizing the Red Cross for keeping the blood of Negro donors separate from that of the whites.

Picketed Convention

Public attention was focused on official prison racism last November, when forty persons picketed the annual convention of the American Prison Association in New York, attended by Prison Director Bennett and the federal wardens. They carried signs bearing such slogans as "Correct Correctional Institutions: End Jimcrow" and "Jimcrow Must Go in U. S. Prisons." Handbills distributed by the pickets quoted Walter White's letter to President Truman urging him to order the discontinuance of "all rules, regulations, and policies with respect to all prison activity and endeavor based upon race."

The Federal Bureau of Prisons must be persuaded to adopt a uniform policy against segregation and discrimination. As Edward R. Dudley, the NAACP's assistant special counsel, wrote the warden at Ashland, even in Nazi prisoner-of-war camps, segregation was not practiced.

In the past the Prison Bureau has made only piecemeal concessions in individual prisons following prolonged struggles on the part of inmates. The time has come for the federal prison system as a whole to break with the vicious anti-Negro pattern to which it subjects inmates while professing to rehabilitate them.

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★

Join thousands of satisfied customers by seeing your dealers or sending us your order for the following songs:

"I Am Redeemed" ..... 15¢ a copy
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"Love Lighters," a booklet of love poems ..... 15¢ a copy
"Brighter Christmas," a booklet of Christmas poems ..... 25¢ a copy

Agents and dealers are invited to write for sample copies. Directors of choirs should write for sample copies of the Easter song. Only those who write early, giving church and pastors' names will receive free copies. Others will enclose two three-cent stamps.

CREST PUBLISHING COMPANY
6 WEST 128th STREET
New York City 27

PITTSBURGH PANORAMA

(Inspired by the picture of a slum woman receiving the Congressional Medal of Honor)

They'd picked their way among the ashcans and
The thinfaced unkempt alley cats and alley kids—
Rebellious nostrils quite belying cordial face-deep smiles.
Photographers and generals and all the other bigwigs "up-from-Washington"
Had come—just democratic like—to say her son had killed so many Japs
And he was helping to preserve the "Old American Way" and-stuff-like-that.
"She smiled with pride," and "Buy War Bonds."
Framed in the sagging doorway she stood—
Old, tired, sagging face, strangely revealed
By sparse and slanting sunrays which more rightly
Should have softened and concealed harsh grief-lines
Unconsciously she stood, yet painfully aware
Of littered, stenchy alley stretched on out before her.
"Have you begun your Victory garden yet?"
And now they'd gone and all there was to prove this unrealistic scene
Was the gaudy piece of ribbon which she held—
The glittering bit of silver very faintly echoing
The glitter of the brass and bars and flashlight bulbs.
She turned and waded back into the old familiar odor of the slums—
Of greasy cooking food and pungent walls
And human beings long since dead,
Which was reality.
Somewhere a baby squalled and no one heard.

WILLIAM COUSINS.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Will-Ellen Studio

CAMDEN, N. J., BRANCH WORKERS—*Leaders, Pancas, and workers who made the 1945—membership campaign a success. The quota was 3,000 and the members enrolled surpassed this figure.*

POLITICS

FEPC DEAL: Sharp condemnation of the "deal" between some of the supporters of FEPC, both Republican and Democrat, and the filibuster bloc of Dixie senators was contained in telegrams to senators by the NAACP.

The "deal" came out into the open the afternoon of February 7 when Republican leader Wallace H. White, Jr., of Maine, made a speech praising the filibusters, declaring he agreed with them. Immediately after, Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio, secured the floor and declared he was willing to go along with "this deal." *The Congressional Record* will probably not reveal this remark after it has been edited, but spectators in the gallery heard Senator Taft make the statement and also heard other senators call out "sh-h-h-h'."

In addition to the NAACP wire, hundreds of telegrams and a score of telephone calls reached Washington from NAACP branches in 30 states urging senators to vote for cloture and to keep FEPC the order of business before the Senate.

One aspect of the trickery in the deal was the setting of the cloture vote for 4 p.m. Saturday, February 9. Opponents of the bill were counting on the fact that the daughter of Senator Chavez was scheduled to be married at 1 p.m. February 9, and that therefore the leader in the fight for FEPC would be in no mood to be present and put up a battle. They also depended on senators being absent on Saturday afternoon.

From the time the date and hour of the cloture vote was announced the NAACP was in touch by long distance telephone with 25 of its branches in key political centers.

When cloture was put to a vote on Saturday, February 9, it lost by eight votes. Only 48 senators voted for it. Thus the senators from the Deep South chalked up another victory in their fight against FEPC. With defeat the FEPC bill will now be returned to the calendar of Senate bills for future reference.

D. C. SUFFRAGE: Support for the Sumners-Capper Resolution for a constitutional amendment to provide for voting by residents of the District of Columbia was urged in a resolution adopted by the D. C. branch of the NAACP in January. The branch also is urging retention of federal control over the United States Employment Service until July 1, 1947. Senator James M. Mead of New York, and Charles H. Houston, were speakers at a mass meeting called in support of the FEPC bill in the Senate.

BARKLEY COMMENDED: For his speech in the Senate on January 24 declaring his full support for FEPC and of limitation of debate to prevent filibusters despite letters he had received from Kentucky protesting his stand, Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, was commended by the NAACP.

The enemies of FEPC kept egging Senator Barkley about his support of the bill. He finally arose and declared that he had voted to draft all young men of the country to fight in the war and that the draft law had made no distinction as to race, color or religion. He said he felt in his own conscience that he could not vote against a measure designed to give all persons a fair chance at employment. He said he was determined upon his course despite the fact that many of his constituents in Kentucky had protested his view and had threatened to vote against him in future elections. "I have always felt," he said, "that the filibuster as a legislative institution is unjustifiable and indefensible . . . I intend to vote for that motion (cloture). . . ."

JIM CROW

SUPREME COURT TO RULE ON JIM CROW TRAVEL: On Monday, January 28, the United States Supreme Court "noted probable jurisdiction" in the case of Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia, thus bringing before the highest court the whole question of the segregation of interstate passengers on any part of a common carrier. The Supreme Court has ruled in previous cases that first class accommodations may not be denied Negroes, meaning that pullman berths and lounge and club cars (which go with first class fare) may not be denied them. However, the court has never ruled on the application of state jim crow statutes to interstate passengers.

Mrs. Morgan on October 18, 1944, was found guilty by the judge of the circuit court of Middlesex county, Virginia, of the crime of violating the jim crow transportation statute of Virginia while traveling in a bus from Norfolk, Virginia, to Baltimore, Maryland. It was contended at the hearing that the jim crow statute of Virginia was unconstitutional as applied to an interstate passenger.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia on

Acme

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL *members of the American Veterans Committee picket the capitol in protest to the filibuster against the FEPC. Right, delegates representing associated groups for a permanent FEPC are shown in the offices of Sen. Millard E. Tydings (D, Md.) to protest his Senate speech opposing the FEPC. They were led by Rev. Asbury Smith of Baltimore, Md., at right. Left, international representatives of the CIO Steelworkers union meet with presidents of locals of struck plants. Seated center is Joseph Cook, local 1029, Valley Mould Co.*

June 6, 1945. The judgment and conviction was affirmed. Petition for rehearing was denied on September 4, 1945.

An appeal to the United States Supreme Court was presented and allowed by Chief Justice Stone of the United States Supreme Court on November 19, 1945. This latest action by the Supreme Court in noting probable jurisdiction means that the case should be reached sometime during the first part of March. The decision is expected to affect travel in all states.

The lawyers in the case are William H. Hastie, Thurgood Marshall, and Spottswood W. Robinson, III.

NO JIM CROW FOR DELEGATES: Both the Senate and Treasury departments have assured the NAACP in writing that there will be no discrimination against dark-skinned delegates at the forthcoming Bretton Woods monetary conference scheduled to be held on Wilmington Island, near Savannah, Georgia.

"Whether the conference is held in Savannah, or elsewhere," wrote Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson, "I shall insist on assurances from the management of the hotels in which it is held that all members of all delegations are to receive exactly the same treatment and that there is to be no discrimination because of color."

Reply for Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Warren Kelchner, Chief of the Division of International Con-

ferences, wrote:

"The Department has consistently maintained that all delegates to an international conference be treated alike. As you well state, this is an obvious and basic principle in the conduct of international conferences. Regardless of where a conference might be held, I can assure you that the Department would not be a party to any arrangement of a different character."

TOURISM

TRANSFER OF TOURIST CAMP OPPOSED: The Washington branch opposes the proposal to move the tourist camp from East Potomac Park.

The National Capital Parks Commission, under the Department of Interior, had proposed to rebuild and increase the size of the tourist camp. The D. C. Board of Recreation urged that the area be transferred to their jurisdiction for the construction of night-lighted recreational facilities and suggested Daingerfield Island as an alternate site for the tourist camp, located on the Virginia side of the Potomac midway between the National Airport and Alexandria.

Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of Interior, has assured the NAACP that the tourist camp will be operated on a non-segregrated basis.

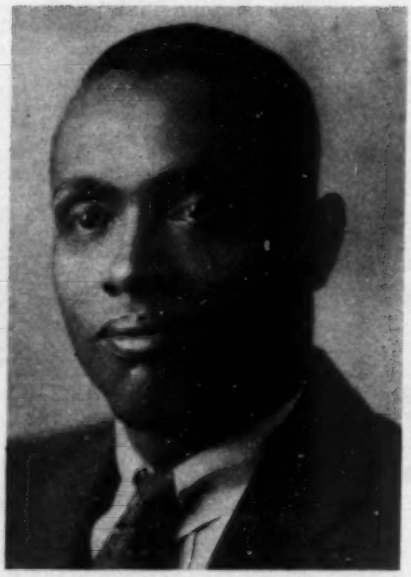
When the question was scheduled for discussion at the January meeting of the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission, Dr. E. B. Henderson, Chairman of the NAACP Recreation Committee, wrote to the Chairman, General U. S. Grant, III, basing opposition to any change of location on the following points: (1) That the tourist citizens of the nation should be given accomodation in a camp as close as possible to points of interest in the capital; (2) That the question of legal jurisdiction over Daingerfield Island might well develop into a controversy such as has been waged over the National Airport with the imposition of the Jim Crow laws of Virginia.

MISCELLANEOUS

WALTER WHITE ON GM STRIKE FUND COMMITTEE: Walter White, NAACP secretary, is a member of the Committee of national leaders soliciting funds for the relief of the families of the striking General Motors employees.

GAINS 5,000 MEMBERS ON COAST: During 1945 the NAACP gained 5,000 members on the Pacific Coast, according to Noah W. Griffin, Secretary of the Regional Office. California branches made the greatest gains with Los Angeles maintaining its place as the fifth

BRANCH WORKER



Nick Ford of Cocoa, Fla., ace solicitor during 1945 of the Brevard county branch, Fla.

largest NAACP unit in the nation. The increase in Oregon was about 50 percent but there was a slight decrease in Washington due to the shutdown of war industries and movement of war workers out of the state. The region has set a goal of 30,000 members for 1946.

REDUCTION SOUGHT IN SOLDIER SENTENCE: Clemency for Clarence W. Harding, a soldier sentenced to dishonorable discharge and five years at hard labor, has been sought by NAACP lawyers in a petition filed with the War Department. The petition pointed out that Harding, convicted by a military court in Atlanta in April, 1943, was held incommunicado from December 28, 1942, until April 13, 1943, thus denying him rights guaranteed by the Articles of War. Harding was charged with having made disloyal statements against the United States Government and having advised other persons to evade military service.

BROOKLYN HIGH SCHOOL REFUSES DAR MEDAL: The Girls' High School of Brooklyn, which has a goodly percentage of Negro students enrolled, has refused to accept the annual American History medals awarded by the Battle Pass Chapter of the DAR. The action was taken because the Battle Pass Chapter wrote Principal Edith M. Ward that its policy was "not to comment on any action taken by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

Mrs. Ward had written the chapter that her students were "upset at the discrimination shown by the Washington Chapter of the DAR in the case of Hazel Scott, and earlier, Marian Anderson." She asked what the attitude was of the Battle Pass chapter. When informed that the Battle Pass Chapter had "no comment," Principal Ward wrote:

"To evade a stand is equivalent to agreement with those who would deny to the Negro his Americanism. I regret, therefore, that because of this, our long and hitherto pleasant relations will have to be severed."

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Complete Clerical, and Business Courses
Spring Term Begins: Monday, March 4, 1946
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What the Branches Are Doing

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: In its annual observance of National Negro History Week, the Helping Hand Club of the 19th Street Baptist church sponsored a meeting on February 15 which featured the work of the NAACP. The subject of the address given by the main speaker, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the Association, was "American Democracy and the NAACP."

The musical program was provided by the Postal Male Chorus under the direction of Major Alston W. Burleigh.

The committee which organized the event consisted of the following: Rev. Jerry Moore, acting pastor of the 19th Street Baptist church; William D. Brooks; Mrs. Marie Funches; Miss Zoe Wormley; Mrs. Ella E. Bannister, president of the Helping Hand Club; and Mrs. Gertrude B. Stone, secretary of the District branch.

FLORIDA: Ace solicitor of the Brevard county branch during 1945 was Nick Ford of Cocoa, Florida,who reported over 450 memberships. Mr. Ford and his wife, Mrs. Naomi Wynn Ford, also took the lead in organizing the Cocoa youth council. The Brevard county branch reports over 1,000 members for 1945, and organized two youth councils in Mims and Cocoa, respectively. Branch president is Elmer Siles of Cocoa; and Harry T. Moore of Mims is secretary.

MARYLAND: The Baltimore branch

reports a mass meeting sponsored by the Associated Groups for a Permanent FEPC held in January at the Mount Vernon Place Methodist church (white). Chairman of the group was Rev. Asbury Smith, pastor of the First Methodist church in Towson, Maryland.

Guest speakers were congressman Fred A. Crawford, Port Huron, Michigan; Walter McManamon, president Baltimore Industrial Union Council (CIO); Father Donald Jacobs, from the St. Peter Claver Catholic church; John Hawkins, from the AFL; and Charles H. Houston, who recently resigned from FEPC.

Among those present at the meeting were delegations from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, led by James F. Stewart and Dr. David H. Hargis; from the Western Shore, led by Dr. Claude Cowan; and Southern Maryland, led by J. W. Key, president of the Charles county branch.

The meeting decided that a resolution be sent to each state congressman and senator urging his cooperation in seeing the measure adopted. Several thousand petitions were sent to organizations all over the state, and on January 24 a delegation of about 150 persons conferred with those congressmen who had not committed themselves to sign the discharge petition as well as those senators who had not been for the bill. Of the six state congressmen and two senators, five were seen, two of whom committed themselves for FEPC though they had not done so previously. Senator Alben Barkley, majority leader in the Senate, and Congressman Joe Martin, minority leader in the House, conferred with the delegation and made it clear that they were working earnestly for FEPC. Representative Martin said that he had procured fifteen more signatures to the discharge petition.

MINNESOTA: Annual observation of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation was held by the St. Paul branch in January at the Hallie Q. Brown House in Aurora street. The principal address was delivered by Walter N. Ridley, head of the department of psychology at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia.

Mayor John J. McDonough extended to the meeting greetings from the city of St. Paul. Music for the occasion was furnished by the St. James Church choir under the direction of Mrs. Cora E Moore.

Officers of the St. Paul branch were installed in a very impressive ceremony conducted by Rev. J. J. Luger, pastor of the St. Peter Claver Catholic church. He was assisted by a group of young people who sang a new verse written by Dr. Herman H. Horne for the national anthem. Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, of the executive committee, gave a resume of branch activities during 1945. Branch president Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson announced that seven organizations have agreed to join with the branch in an all-out fight against discrimination in hotels, eating establishments, and other public places in St. Paul.

Acme

MEATPACKERS UNION OFFICIALS *are shown conferring in Washington, D. C., at the time of the meatpacker strike. Left to right: Lewis J. Clark, president of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO); Ralph Helstein, general counsel; Philip Weightman, vice-president of the union; John W. Gibson, second assistant secretary of labor; and Edgar L. Warren, director of the Conciliation Service.*

NEW YORK: Installation of new officers was a part of the regular monthly meeting of the LeRoy branch. The officers are as follows: B. F. Bundy, president; Rev. J. Stanley Ormsby, vice-president; Mrs. Lewis A. Steverson, secretary; Mrs. Harold Sellers, assistant secretary; Mrs. Ruth Brooks, treasurer. A budget for carrying on the work of the branch was adopted.

On January 16 B. F. Bundy delivered an address on "Race Relations" before members of the Forum, a group of young married couples in the Presbyterian church.

OHIO: New officers of the Cincinnati branch were installed December 30 by Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Services Employees of America (CIO) and a ranking CIO labor leader. At an emergency meeting immediately thereafter, the executive committee was organized. Ethelbert Anderson was elected chairman of the executive committee and the following chairmen of standing committees were appointed: James R. Smith, legal and legislative; Mrs. Jerome Jelin, education; Ethelbert Anderson, membership; Rev. John Burgess, housing; Earl W. Davis, industry and labor; James Cayce, publicity; William Barton, finance; and Eugene Johnson, program.

Acting upon the request of the Citizen's Committee for Human Rights, headed by Mrs. Nora Fulton, the branch legal committee, headed by James R. Smith, issued a call to civic, social and labor organizations to join in the campaign for full civil rights in the restaurants of Cincinnati.

A special committee from the branch conferred with congressman Charles H. Elston on January 4 in connection with House Bill No. 2232 to create a permanent FEPC. The committee, consisting of Eugene Johnson, James Smith, and Rev. B. B. Evans, urged Mr. Elston to sign the discharge petition No. 4 to bring the bill to the floor for vote. Although approved by the House Labor Committee, the bill has been held in the House Rules Committee for several months without action. Mr. Elston informed the committee that he had only signed one discharge petition in his legislative career and that was to bring the anti-poll tax bill up for vote. He further stated that he would support

enactment of FEPC legislation, providing the "enforcement regulations were reasonable," but he gave no indication as to what "reasonable" meant other than to add that enforcement by imprisonment was unreasonable. Congressman Elston refused to state whether he would sign the discharge petition, but promised to consider the committee's request.

The branch also addressed a letter to Walter Schmidt, chairman of the board of directors of the College of Music in Cincinnati, asking the question: "What is the policy of the College of Music of Cincinnati, as an affiliate of the University of Cincinnati, in the admission and training of students of color, particularly the American Negro?"

This letter was based upon a complaint filed with branch, through the youth council, by Miss Lottie McCoy, a graduate of Bennett college.

Mr. Schmidt did not answer the question as to school policy, but offered to assist in establishing a separate school. His reply has been referred to the education committee for further action.

Book Review

MESSIAH OR DEMAGOGUE?

Marching Blacks. **By Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. New York: The Dial Press, 1946. 218pp. $2.50.**

Marching Blacks is a bird's eye view of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., minister, congressman, editor, author and fiery orator, as seen through his own eyes. Although a non-fiction, personal manifesto sub-titled "An Interpretive History of the Rise of the Black Common Man," it is written in a novelized form which disregards and distorts undisputed facts, seemingly, to accomplish one specific end, namely, to portray the author to the world as "The Great I Am," or as "The New Negro Leader," who, with his "New (common man) Negro" and "New White (common) Man," is forcing our "bastard democracy" to accept the "New World A-Comin'" – GLORY HALLELUJAH!

After reviewing the Negro's struggles from slavery to the end of 1930, and "debunking" all leaders and organizations during this period, the author declared:

> The time was ripe for someone, a new and dynamic leader. The masses were distrustful but hungry for leadership. They were looking for men who bore no labels. They were searching for leaders who were independent, and who would not sell them out. They wanted them educated but, more important, they wanted them to possess mass common sense. The men who would bridge the gap between the light and the dark must be acceptable to the West-Indian and the native born, the religious and the non-religious. In other words, they would have to be radicals whom conservatives could follow.

Naively, the handsome Congressman seeks to prove himself as "fitting the bill" in his chapter on "The People's Man." Oddly enough, according to the author, no other individual is in the running for the top leadership post; however, he does throw an unqualified laudatory crumb at the NAACP, after forgiving it of "sins of the past," because of the association's militant fight for the Negro's civil rights during World War II.

If *Marching Blacks* had been written by any other person it would not have been significant, and in all probability would not have been published without being thoroughly re-edited. But because Powell, one of the most discussed and feared Negro leaders today, took time out to give an appraisal of the Negro's past and to outline his program for solving the so-called Negro Problem, the treatise takes on an unescapable import, over which Negroes and whites should seriously ponder.

The author, who has been labelled "Mr. Jesus," "Glamour Boy," and whose father called him "either a fool, jackass or genius," typifies, embodies and expresses the soul and strivings of the Negro masses today, as did Marcus Garvey two decades ago. However, much of what Powell says and has written in his first book should be taken with a grain of salt. It is often twisted to sooth his fanatical persistence in the carrying out of his program, even if it means distorting facts, belittling the White House, or insulting (his) the "world's largest Protestant congregation."

The Congressman's program for solving the "Negro Problem" includes first and foremost the wholesale migration of southern Negroes to the North; cooperation between black and white workers; acquisition of economic security—not by building Negro businesses, but by picketing and lambasting white firms until lots of Negroes are admitted to worthwhile jobs; and, coordinated activities of all groups in each community to achieve the above aims through non-violent action, if possible.

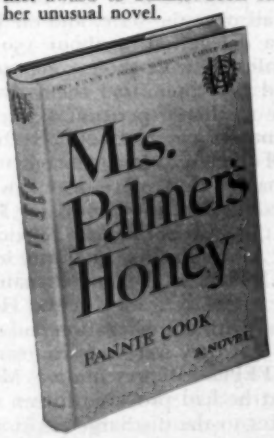
Powell does not mince his words in this militant book. He warns the white man that "Civil War II"—a determined drive on the part of the white and black masses to see that the latter gains first-class-citizenship—is underway. He further warns his Caucasian brother to practice unadulterated democracy, but quick. Otherwise, he concludes, "a surging rebellion" of "marching blacks" will wreck the "white man's world."

In actuality the author is a challenge upon the American scene because he is young, ambitious, dynamic, and is the possessor of one of the greatest assets of any leader—great oratory power. Therefore, *Marching Blacks* should be read in order to get a keen perspective of its writer, for no one knows how far fate and fortune will take this remarkable character.

S. W. GARLINGTON.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER AWARD NOVEL

FOR two years we looked for a book that measured up to what we knew would be expected of the first winner of the George Washington Carver Award for an outstanding work dealing with American Negroes. We are proud to present the first award to Fannie Cook for her unusual novel.



Honey had a name but white folks never knew it. She had been Mrs. Palmer's maid and to them she was always Mrs. Palmer's Honey. But when Honey left the Palmers for a better job and joined the CIO, she rose far above the kitchen and met the people she used to serve on common ground. Then there was trouble.

Shunning the sensational, Fannie Cook has written a fine, sincere novel on the human and social level. This is a story which you will be richer for having read.

By FANNIE COOK

At your bookseller's, $2.50

DOUBLEDAY

College News

(Continued from page 71)

Mrs. McPheeters is librarian of the Auburn Avenue branch of the Carnegie library, a graduate of Clark college, and the Hampton Institute School of Library Service.

Dr. E. C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work was a recent speaker at a public forum at the university. Fourth annual University Center Convocation, sponsored by all the institutions of higher learning for Negroes in Atlanta, was addressed by President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse.

Seventy-ninth founder's day address at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE was delivered by Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, assistant director of the Institute of International Education, on February 18.

Among recent events at the college was a song recital on February 15 by Edward Matthews, distinguished Negro baritone.

Among recent events at SPELLMAN COLLEGE was a dance-play, *Christopher Columbus*, presented on January 19 by the Edwin Strawbridge Dramatic Ballet. Mr. Strawbridge, world-famous actor-dancer, played the title role, both as the young lad Columbus and later as the famous explorer, Anauta, an Eskimo native of Baffin Island, lectured to the student body on Eskimo life and customs.

From NEW YORK UNIVERSITY comes the announcement that Richmond Barthé, well-known Negro portrait sculptor, has been selected by the art committee of the Hall of Fame to do the bust of Booker T. Washington. When the work is completed, Barthé will be the first Negro artist represented in the colonnade at University Heights.

Dr. Walter L. Wright, seventy-three year-old, ex-president of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.), died of a heart attack at his home on the campus on January 17. Dr. Wright served for nine years as the fourth president of Lincoln, had previously been vice-president, treasurer, and professor of mathematics. His services in various capacities at the university covered fifty-two years.

Dr. Wright was inaugurated as Lincoln president on June 2, 1936, succeeding Rev. William Hallock Johnson, retired. Dr. Wright was succeeded as president by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, a Lincoln graduate of the class of '23, who assumed office on October 8, 1945, after serving as president of Fort Valley State College, Georgia. Dr. Wright is survived by his wife, two sons, and a daughter.

Main address at the 80th anniversary founder's day service at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was delivered by Dr. Homer V. Wilburn, superintendent of Provident Hospital, Chicago, Illinois. Lincoln university was founded as Lincoln Institute in 1866 by the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantries, but the school is now supported by the state of Missouri.

Recent speakers at the university have been Dr. T. Z. Koo, representative of the World's Student Christian Federation; Roscoe Dunjee, editor-publisher of the Oklahoma *Black Dispatch;* and Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at North Carolina College, Durham.

During the month of February the university was host to the annual ministers and farmers conferences.

When prizes are awarded winners in the Missouri state high school feature writing contest on the university campus, April 25, a newspaper clinic featuring four well-known journalists will be held. Subject for clinic discussion will be "The Negro Weekly; How Its News is Written."

The Negro in American Life, an exhibit loaned by the Council Against Intolerance in America, had a two-week display at Lincoln in January.

On February 10 Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, professor in the department of history, left the campus to begin work on a research project made possible through a grant from the General Education Board. The work will be done on the second of three volumes on *The Abolition of Slavery in New England, 1638-1784,* which will be a sequel to *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776,* first published in 1942. The third volume will be *The New England Slave Trade, 1638-1788* and like the others will be published by the Columbia University Press.

Imperialism in Asia

(Continued from page 81)

around the corner. The British *reconquered* Burma and the old familiar pattern of British Blimpism functions in Burma once again.

Broken Promises

Indonesia witnesses the same sad spectacle of broken promises. Queen Wilhelmenia, herself a homeless exile, thinking of her Dutch people who were nursing their Nazi-inflicted wounds, proclaimed in royal-exiled tones the end of the exploitation of seventy-two million Indonesians and offered a commonwealth partnership with free Holland. She said in August, 1943, "A political unity which rests on this foundation of voluntary cooperation (between Holland and Indonesia) moves far towards a realization of the purpose for which the United Nations are fighting, as has been embodied for instance in the Atlantic Charter (the charter was later declared scrapped and nonexistent!) and with which we could instantly agree because it contains our own conception of freedom and justice for which we have sacrificed blood and possession in the course of our history."

It was the same story with France and Indo-China. De Gaulle on two occasions gave assurance that the old French colonial attitude would change with the defeat of the common foe and the termination of hostilities. It was hoped that the French belief that a colony existed only for the benefit of the "mother country" would be abandoned. France never developed Indo-China's resources. What with the paraphernalia of Colbertism and the high

tariffs against non-French goods, Indo China's trade was destroyed. There was not a single industry in Indo China and her more than twenty-four million people subsisted on their sub-human agrarian economy. Annamite and Cambodian nationalist leaders were promised the right to self-determination at the end of the war.

It is the same story with the seven million Malays and the six million Ceylonese.

Above all these assurances, promises, and pledges of European imperialist countries sounded the ringing words of President Roosevelt. He said in April, 1943, "We know that the day of exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over."

In the midst of these Allied assurances, and overtures to Asia, the Japanese-controlled Asiatics were undergoing deep psychological changes. The Burmese, the Malays, the Annamites, the Indonesians, as well as the Indians watched Japan inflict terrific blows on Britain, Holland, France, and America in the wake of Pearl Harbor. The proud imperialist powers pocketed their pride and made their exit. Their resounding defeat after three centuries of political aggression, subjection, and economic emasculation ended an era. The white man lost his face as well as his burden. The brown man and the yellow man regained their lost confidence. They discovered that the Japanese bullets can kill the British and the Dutch just as effectively as the British bullets kill the Indians and the Burmans. The Asiatics learned that their imperialist masters bow to one thing—force. Years of begging, petitioning, haranguing, and jail-going could not compel the British to leave. But the Japanese bullets did the trick. This they have not forgotten.

With the atom bomb reducing two teeming Japanese towns to ghostly gaps, the war was won—the war for freedom, democracy, peace, and the war against fascist imperialist aggression.

What next? Freedom for Asia or the prewar status quo? Britain smarting under her new status of a second-class power is exhibiting all the psychological signs of an inferiority complex. With an empty purse and with two new powerful competitors she is determined to pursue, against her own pronouncements and all decency, the old familiar policy of Blimpism. Powerless France wants to regain her colony of Indo-China. The British are there to help readily. The Dutch, starved, shivering, and smarting under the memory of Nazi occupation, want their colony back—Indonesia. She has neither the men nor the materials to reconquer Indonesia. Of course the British are there again! The British not satisfied with their own imperialism, are helping their weaker European partners. We now have the age of syndicated British imperialism. Today we witness the bewildering spectacle of American ammunition, British officers, Indian soldiers, all destroying Indonesians. Even the Japanese are on our side now, shooting at the Indonesians. What a pity indeed that we treated them as our enemies for the past few years.

Will Imperialism Survive?

How long will this hated, super-imposed European imperialism last in Asia? What did we fight for? Who won the war? It was with the might and the manpower of the United States that the war in Asia was won. What does the United States stand for? It is a long cry from Roosevelt to Byrnes. When the Indonesians protested against the use of American lend-lease ammunition to shoot and suppress their legitimate longing for freedom, Byrnes gratiously suggested that the British can shoot so long as they remove the insignia "Made in U.S.A." from American ammunition. *What utter moral cowardice.* The reservoir of good will that Asia once had for the non-imperialist United States that Wendell Willkie spoke about has gone completely dry. If this American policy of moral bankruptcy continues long, America will eventually begin to reap a whirlwind harvest in Asia.

What does Asia want? Asia wants political freedom and freedom to organize her economic life for the benefit and happiness of her poverty stricken masses. A billion people have learned better. They refuse to live like animals. Asia has no atom bombs, or mechanized armies. But she has risen from her slumber and has gained a new consciousness, a new awakening, and a new might. She has the numbers, the resources, and the will. She will find a way out no matter what Bevin or Byrnes, Wilhelmina or de Gaulle may say. If violence is the only alternative, she will resort to it, no matter what the consequences. Asia looked up to the United States for help in her appeal for freedom, knowing that she has kept faith with the Philippines. But now Asia knows that American claims that she champions democracy and freedom are a hoax. This conviction will not change till the present American political leadership changes.

What is the alternative? If the United States, the Colossus of the West, disappoints Asia, she will naturally turn to the Soviet Union, the Colossus of the East. If Russia fosters Asia's freedom, she will be her friend. The red lights of Moscow blink beckoning Asia. A billion people may turn toward Moscow. And who can blame them?

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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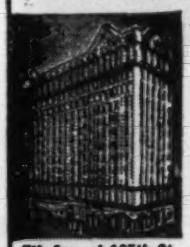

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Never Too Early

(*Continued from page 83*)

meanie."

"That's right," Amy agreed.

Bouncing off her mother's lap to find the book, Elise paused: "But do you known one thing, Mommy? I feel sorry for Doris. Really I do."

What now, Amy wondered as she asked the inevitable question.

"Oh, for several reasons. But mostly because she doesn't have a mommy like you."

In a swift, engulfing moment, Amy knew how Elise felt when she had "that good-all-over feeling." It was wonderful—to know that though there would be other rough spots, Elise was acquiring the means of getting past them with a minimum of hurt and heartache.

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City of Covenants

(*Continued from page 78*)

As this is being written several groups in Chicago are working to substitute occupancy for racial standards. Other groups are planning to establish housing, both public and private, which will be available to all ethnic groups. Both because of the chaotic conditions of the building industry and the newness of anything approaching community appreciation for the basic importance of departing from residential segregation, private housing of this nature is still in the discussion stages. Chicago does have a small amount of bi-racial public housing.

Chicago is now planning for a vast postwar housing program. It involves slum clearance and slum reclamation, restoration of blight, and city planning. These are the physical aspects of the program; its human elements are equally important although they are seldom considered. Every phase of postwar housing will involve Negroes. But simply to create more dwellings, regardless of how well they are planned or arranged, will not automatically assure minority groups' participation. And, unless minorities are included, all phases of the city's future planning will be defeated. This is true because Negroes now reside in slum and blighted areas and a first step in any action to reclaim or clear these areas is to provide housing, temporary and permanent, for present residents.

Residential segregation cannot be evaded in the future if we are to rebuild our cities. And these urban centers cannot be rebuilt soundly unless they remain flexible in the sense that housing facilities will easily and automatically accommodate a changing racial population. This means the weakening and final abolition of enforced residential segregation. Race restrictive covenants, therefore, are not the concern of minorities alone. They are one of the immediate issues which city planners and housers must face.

That this is no theoretical conclusion was recently confirmed in the January, 1946, issue of *Architectural Forum* where it is stated:

> One big question which many a city will soon have to face got a decisive answer in a Los Angeles courtroom last month. Superior Judge Thurmond Clarke decided that 57 of the city's Negro families may keep the homes they have bought in a race restricted neighborhood.

The fight to rid the nation of racial covenants has just begun in earnest. Chicago, and hundreds of other cities, however, will soon find the issue inescapable. It is important, therefore, that an increasing number of citizens learn what racial covenants cost their communities and how impossible it is to solve the total housing problem and maintain residential segregation.

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1. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: 1945) p. 184.
2. This fact is further developed in the present writer's forthcoming article, "Housing in a Democracy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1946.
3. Materials in this section are taken from a pamphlet prepared by the present writer for the American Council on Race Relations. This pamphlet, "Hemmed In," sets forth in detail the nature of race restrictive housing covenants and is available at the price of 10 cents at the Council's office, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.
4. "Facing the Job of Housing." CIO, Washington, D. C.

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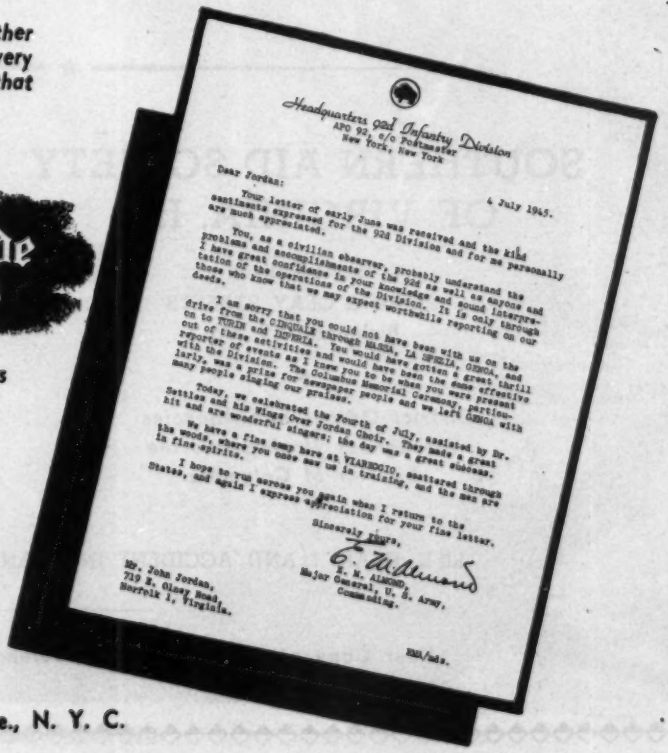

Headquarters 92d Infantry Division
APO 92, c/o Postmaster
New York, New York

4 July 1945.

Dear Jordan:

Your letter of early June was received and the kind sentiments expressed for the 92d Division and for me personally are much appreciated.

You, as a civilian observer, probably understand the problems and accomplishments of the 92d as well as anyone and I have great confidence in your knowledge and sound interpretation of the operations of the Division. It is only through those who know that we may expect worthwhile reporting on our deeds.

I am sorry that you could not have been with us on the drive from the CINQUALE through MASSA, LA SPEZIA, GENOA, and on to TURIN and DOMODOSSOLA through MASSA, LA SPEZIA, GENOA, and out of these activities and would have gotten a great thrill with the Division. The Columbus Memorial Ceremony, particularly, was a prize for newspaper people and we left GENOA with many people singing our praises.

Today, we celebrated the Fourth of July, assisted by Dr. Sattler and his Wings Over Jordan Choir. They made a great hit and are wonderful singers; the day was a great success.

We have a fine camp here at VIAREGGIO, scattered through the woods, where you once saw us in training, and the men are in fine spirits.

I hope to run across you again when I return to the States, and again I express appreciation for your fine letter.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. Almond

E. M. ALMOND,
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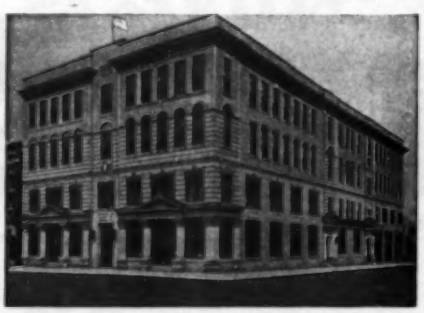

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